# THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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## N.A.A.C.P. Executive Director Returns To Oakland

# BENJAMIN HOOKS-"HOW SOON WE FORGET WHERE WE CAME FROM"

(Oakland, Calif.) - In his second visit to this Port city in four months, Benjamin Hooks, the dynamic, newly appointed executive director of the NAACP, delivered an eloquent, timely speech here last week in which he:

•Criticized the Black community for "forgetting where we came from"; and

•Warned that the civil rights gains made during the 1960's are in danger of being lost because America has moved into "one of the most conservative ages we have lived in in the last 30 years."

The charismatic NAACP leader, in town to address a joint National Achievement Week Awards luncheon co-sponsored by the Oakland branch of the NAACP and Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, held at Goodman Hall in Jack London Square last Saturday, was interrupted numerous times with applause and murmurs of "I heard that" as he reminded the predominantly Black crowd of the importance of remembering their roots.



*NAACP Executive Director BENJAMIN HOOKS receives standing ovation following his speech at the National Achievement Week Awards luncheon co-sponsored by the Oakland NAACP and Omega Psi Phi Fraternity held at Jack London Square.*

Recalling the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, the Montgomery bus boycott launched by Rosa Parks, the Birmingham bombing in which four Black girls were killed, and other milestones in the civil rights struggle, Hooks, the first Black person ever elected to the Federal Communications Commission, noted:

"We've come up a way that has been watered with tears, but we have fogotten so soon. I think that we as Black folk have an

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## "Showcase" For Oakland?

# NATIONAL GUARD JOBS PLAN UNVEILED

(Oakland, Calif.) - Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., unveiled details of his plan for a new "community" National Guard to be staffed by Black and other unemployed minority young adults of this city at a special press conference held last week.

Meanwhile, a state-backed plan whereby low-interest loans will be provided to rehabilitate rundown housing in Oakland has received a two million dollar boost.

Flanked by Mayor Lionel Wilson and Major General Frank Schober, commander of the California National Guard, at the November 17 City Hall press conference, Governor Brown said that the "Oakland Guard" will provide jobs and training for 500 young men and women in 50 job skills.

"The National Guard has helped in disasters and floods, but now it will help in the more subtle problems of an urban community," the governor said. "We are going to train young people who otherwise couldn't find their way into the job market."



*Governor JERRY BROWN, with Gen. FRANK SHOBER, announces controversial plan to create "community" National Guard in Oakland.*

Also attending the press conference were prominent Black attorney Donald P. McCullum, the president of the New Oakland Committee, and Dale Reed, an 18-year-old Black youth who is the first recruit in the Oakland Guard.

The program, part of the governor's overall plan to make Oakland a showcase for state aid, will be financed by $315,000 of federal Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) funds. Applicants between 17 and 35 years old will be screened by the state Employment Development Department (EDD), which administers the funds.

The plan will work as follows:

•Those chosen will get 30 days pre-basic preparation from the California Guard.

•Then they will go to the U.S. Army for basic training, followed by instruction in marketable skills like electronics, truck driving and cooking.

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## EDITORIAL

# C.E.T.A. A FAILURE

Charges leveled like howitzers at last week's House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities hearing on the ineffectiveness of the CETA federal jobs program and the toothless nature of the compromise Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill cast a dark and ominous cloud over the future of this country for the remainder of the century.

Government statistics speak for themselves: 78 per cent of all CETA employees are White and 65 per cent are males; 80 per cent are over 21 and 95 per cent have over a ninth-grade education. Slightly more than $2.5 billion has been spent to employ only 300,000 people at less-than-poverty wages.

In other words — and there are plenty of words which can, and have, been expressed — the much ballyhooed CETA program is a bust, a failure. It does not address the needs of Blacks and other minorities, women, the youth, the undereducated. It does not aid the long-term unemployed; it does not create enough new jobs, and those it does create are all-too-often dead-end, menial work with no future...except oppression.

This is the state of Hope #2,001.

As for Hope #2,002, the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment legislation, its credentials as a "hollow promise" and/or "cruel hoax" offer little encouragement.

At first the potential was there: the "right" to a job; the federal government as "employer of last resort," were both valuable concepts built into the original proposal. Too bad they were both purged from the final package endorsed recently by President Carter — too bad, indeed, since their removal signals a significant federal government retreat from the idea of full employment in America.

And if the current trends continue, if unemployment and underemployment continue to target Blacks and other minorities, if the political actions of the '60's continue to express themselves in the economic arena in the '70's, then watch your wallets. Watch your backs.□

# Elaine Brown Resigns

November 16, 1977

As of this writing, I, Elaine Brown, have resigned from the Black Panther Party. It is my fervent hope that no one will be shocked or disturbed by this action, as it is my personal decision to do so, one which does not reflect my overwhelming love for Huey P. Newton nor my love for and support of the Black Panther Party and its various programs. In fact, this decision was made with Huey's understanding, for which I am grateful.

Without injecting too much philosophy, let me say there comes a time in each life that is a kind of turning point. That time for me was some time ago. It was a time of intense feelings: generally, unhappiness in personal matters, incapacitating my ability to function. Day-to-day life in a struggle to change the odds in favor of the People is excruciatingly difficult as it is. My mental and physical strength, after 10 years, were waning, in fact nearly collapsing.

I suppose, then, I felt incapable of going on. It is difficult to even say this in light of those who have sacrificed so much and continue to. I can only honor and support them and make note of my own weakness. I felt at that crucial time in my life, however, that it was essential to maintain myself in the interest of the Party, especially since Huey was still away.

Huey's return, then, allowed the Leader and Founder of the Party to re-assume his proper place and relieve me of many duties, even with the difficulty he personally faced, for Huey is an extraordinarily strong person. A genius.

Things were back in order with this return and I could focus on my personal problems, which seemed and seem overwhelming. The only rational act I could perform, then, in the interest of the Party and, yes, myself, was to step away.

I have been for most of my life a songwriter. It is comforting activity for me and could be, in the right arena, helpful to others. This is what work I shall take up again while in pursuit of a clearing of my mind. And, I am very grateful to Huey for his understanding and his continuing support and friendship.

The friendships and love I have with and for all the members of the Party and its work shall not go away. The ideals upon which it was founded are a part of me. Its goals for total human freedom and dignity and peace are my goals. Yet, I have come to know that I must be at peace with myself in order to reach out to others. Perhaps I will find it.

Many will argue as to what this all really means. They will speculate. It means only what I have said. To paraphrase a man who was very dear to me, George Jackson, it is the worst thing in the world to be misunderstood.

Elaine Brown

## Letters to the Editor

### BLACK MAN SEEKS AID IN FRAMEUP CASE

Dear Editor,

I am a 26-year-old Black brother serving a live sentence in Georgia State Prison. I have served eight years already of a life sentence. I was accused of raping a White woman in 1969. I am a very innocent young man. I feel if I had a family I would have been outof that prison long ago and wouldn't have been here from the start. But I don't have any family to aid me. I would be most appreciative and grateful if the Black brothers and sisters would please aid me by sending me a few dollars by way of a money order, so I could obtain some pencils, paper, law books and stamps so I could help myself in getting back to court. I am calling out to all my Black brothers and sisters who are reading this important paper.

My freedom is in my brother's and sister's hands. I would enjoy receiving letters from any Black sister or brother for correspondence. Please help me.

Yours truly in the struggle,

Brother Harry James Snow 59987
Georgia State Prison E-1
Reidsville, Georgia 30453

## COMMENT

# "What The Poor Win In American Politics, They Win By Mass Protest"

*The following Comment is written by Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward and is excerpted from their recent book,* Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail.

The Black urban lower class is slowly being destroyed. Large forces are at work, not the least being catastrophic unemployment. Very little withstands the corrosive forces of worklessness — not the sense of individual self-worth, nor the stability of the family, nor the fabric of community life.

A large proportion of each succeeding generation in the ghettos responds by self-destruction — school failure, addiction, criminality.

The paths to social suicide are many, and crowded.

This circumstance should instruct us about the nature of the American political system, for in democratic principle the destruction of the Black lower class ought not to be happening.

Blacks now participate in electoral politics, and should therefore be able to exert the influence necessary to reverse the economic policies that are at the root of their plight.

Blacks entered electoral politics on a large scale in the post-World War II period, at first because migrants from the rural South could vote in the urban North, and then because the franchise was granted to those who remained behind. As the 1960's came to a close, the opportunity for influence through participation in electoral politics seemed at hand.

Blacks have surely participated and with apparent success, if the measure of success is taken to be victories at the polls. Thousands of Black officials have been elected, including mayors in several large cities. The Presi-

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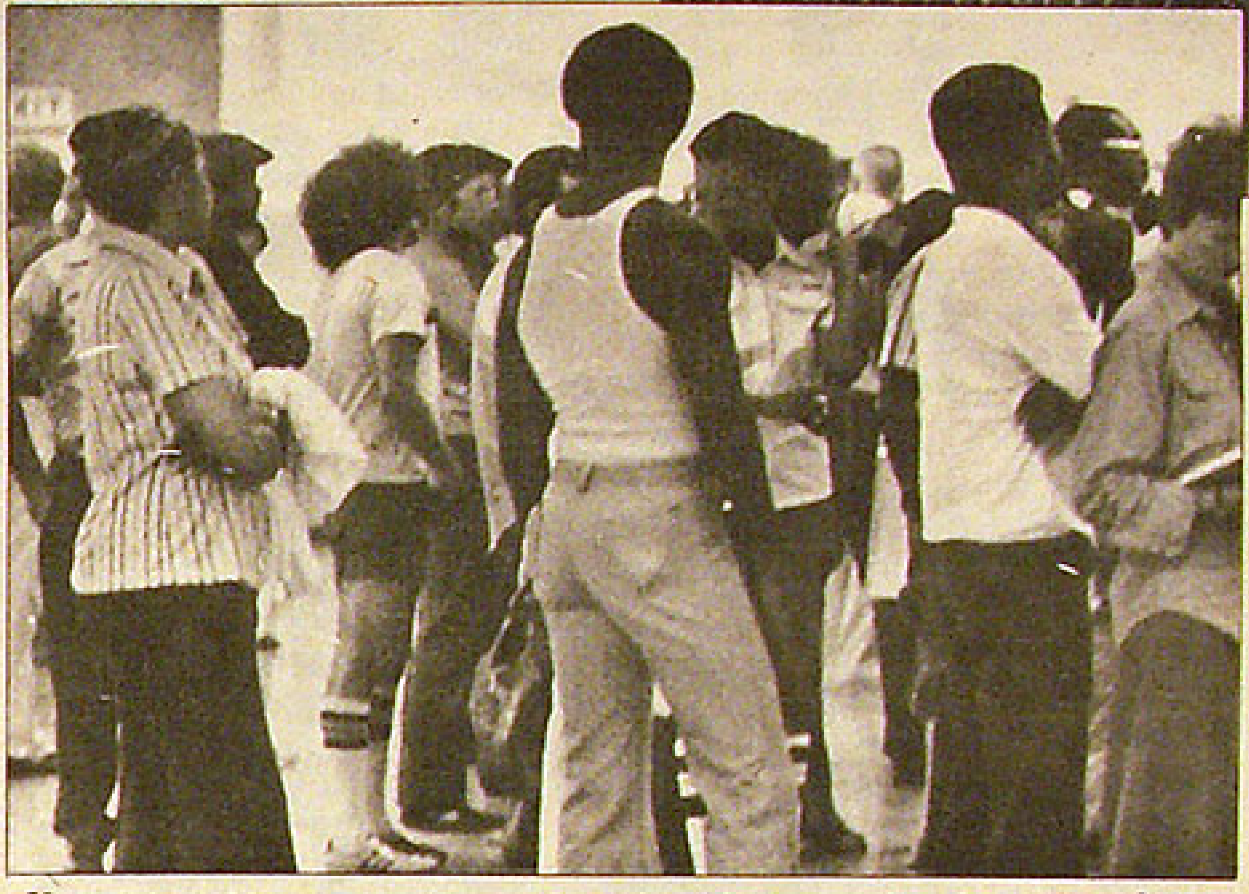
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**NEEDS OF MINORITIES, WOMEN, YOUTH NEGLECTED**

# SHARP CRITICISM OF C.E.T.A. RAISED AT OVERSIGHT HEARING





*Unemployed line up to receive benefits. At recent hearing, (top photo) Congressmen AUGUSTUS HAWKINS (center) and RON DELLUMS (right) heard numerous complaints concerning the CETA job program.*

(Oakland, Calif.) - Sharp criticisms of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) federal jobs program in meeting community needs were leveled here last week in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities.

"As CETA must be reauthorized next year, we are anxious to see how the employment and training progams under CETA are meeting the job needs of the community and what improvements might be made in the legislation to provide more effective administration," said Los Angeles Congressman Augustus Hawkins, co-author of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, who co-chaired the oversight hearing with Bay Area Congressman Ron Dellums.

"We are here at the request of my good friend Ron Dellums to get a firsthand account on what is happening [locally] in the field of job creation," Hawkins told a press conference shortly before the hearing.

The Congressional Black Caucus member told the press that he thought CETA was "doing a moderately good job, but not nearly enough. Too many of the jobs are not actually additional jobs. There's a great amount of substitution," by cities and private employers who sponsor CETA workers.

"CETA has only made a small dent" in real unemployment Hawkins said, which he estimates to be over 10 per cent, or 10 million jobless workers. Nationwide, only slightly over 50 per cent of all CETA employees are new workers, he said.

Plus, Hawkins added, "Too many are dead-end, menial jobs with no future to them and no job career ladders built in. This is one of the great deficiencies."

Direct testimony before the oversight hearing more than confirmed Hawkins' views on CETA — and just as firmly opposed his justifications of the watered-down full employment legislation endorsed recently by President Carter.

Four panels — full employment, community-based organizations, labor organizations and employment administrators — each with between four to seven speakers almost unanimously lambasted the CETA program for neglecting the needs of the long-term unemployed, minorities, women and youth.

Leading off the full day of testimony before an overflow audience, Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson painted a dismal picture of the local jobs situation.

"I believe that this nation is literally sitting on a powder keg because of the extremely high rates of unemployment, in the inner-cities such as Oakland," Wilson began.

Sketching the background for the economic situation, Wilson said that, "Beginning in the '50's, Oakland has experienced a long-term economic deterioration which has had a pervasive and lasting impact on our residents in terms of employment opportunities, spendable income, housing quality and social conditions."

The present unemployment level in Oakland, the city's first Black mayor said, is around 11.7 per cent, significantly higher than the national average. That rate jumps to well over 50 per cent for Black and minority youth in East and West Oakland, with "equally severe underemployment" adding to the problems.

Slightly over 12 per cent of

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*Welfare mothers protest childcare cutbacks.*

## *Welfare Hearings Knock Carter "Reforms"*

(Oakland, Calif.) - At Congressional hearings held here and in Los Angeles, witnesses — including welfare recipients, labor leaders, elected officials and community representatives — criticized the existing national welfare system but made it clear that they felt Carter's reform proposals would only make it worse.

At a hearing in Oakland chaired by Congressman Fortney (Pete) Stark, over a dozen witnesses testified on the serious flaws of the present system and Carter's proposal.

Carter's proposal would force millions off the welfare rolls with its "work or starve" policy. Many recipients would be forced to seek jobs in the private sector that don't exist or accept low-paying, dead-end, publicly-funded employment. A large percentage of those now on welfare will receive reduced payments.

Carter claims that his proposal would also streamline the present system, but in actuality its complexity would create a bigger bureaucracy than the one which

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CHANCES "LESS THAN ONE IN A MILLION" SAYS CONSULTANT

# TOO MANY BLACKS IN MENTALLY-RETARDED CLASSES

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A consultant for the U.S. Office of Civil Rights testified here last week that the charges that race is not a factor in the assignment of large numbers of Black children to mentally retarded classes are "less than one in a million."

The number of Black children assigned to California classes for the educable mentally retarded (EMR) represents a "statistically significant overassignment," according to Walter Hillabrant, a data analyst and assistant professor at Howard University.

Testifying in the federal court lawsuit filed by six Black children and their parents, Hillabrant told District Court Judge Robert Peckham that a survey of 20 California school districts showed a disproportionate number of Blacks assigned to EMR classes.

The class action lawsuit seeks to stop the placement of Black school children in EMR classes on the basis of racially and culturally biased I.Q. tests.

When the suit, *Larry P. vs. Riles*, was filed in 1971, statistics showed that although Black elementary schoolchildren made up only 28.5 per cent of the San Francisco school population, they comprised over 66 per cent of those in EMR classes.

Statewide, 27 per cent of those in EMR classes were Black, although Blacks were only nine per cent of the California schools population.

Last Thursday, Dr. Hillabrant said that this pattern held true whether the school districts were large or small, rural or urban, or whether the ratio of Blacks to the student body was high or low, the *San Francisco Examiner* reports.

Also last week, a Black professor who has been studying standardized education tests for the last 15 years told a Black education conference meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, that such tests are culturally biased because the men who wrote the first ones were overtly, openly and clearly racists."



*Black children have been wrongly labeled retarded due to biased I.Q. tests.*

Dr. Norman Dixon, a University of Pittsburgh professor, said, as an example:

"One even wrote that Blacks, Mexican-Americans and native Americans were so intellectually inferior to Whites that nothing could reverse it."

College admissions exams like the American College and Scholastic Aptitude tests are biased in language, content and illustrations, Dixon said.

"They are biased against Indians, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Blacks, rural students, inner city students, handicapped students, and gifted students."

Dixon asked whether a single test can accurately test children "in Honolulu, on the farms of Iowa, on the South Side of Chicago or in the mountains of Vermont?

"They have all had different experiences in life."

He cited the wording of a question to test the understanding of relationships.

Many Black children missed a question that said: "A goose is a a gosling as a cat is to a ...," said Dixon. But when "dog" and "puppy" were substituted for "goose" and "gosling," the children answered correctly.

He said intelligence tests are often used improperly to determine where a child is placed in school. Such tests "tamper with the life chances" of individuals taking them, he said.

## Nigerian Editor Visits O.C.S.





*(Oakland, Calif.) - Nigerian newspaper editor Dr. P. DELE COLE of the* Daily Times *of Nigeria in Lagos recently toured the Oakland Community School accompanied by Black Panther Party President HUEY P. NEWTON and OCS Director ERICKA HUGGINS.*

BPINS photos

## This Week In Black History

### November 20, 1922

The governor of Louisiana was forced to meet with the President to discuss the problem of runaway Ku Klux Klan violence against Black citizens in the state on November 20, 1922.



BILL ROBINSON

### November 25, 1949

Famed Black dancer Bill "Bojangles" Robinson died in New York City on November 25, 1949. Robinson was internationally famous due to his performances on stage and the screen.

### November 25, 1955

On November 25, 1955, the Interstate Commerce Commission banned segregation on buses, in waiting rooms and in travel coaches involved in interstate travel.

### November 21, 1956

At two mass meetings in Birmingham, Alabama, on November 21, 1956, a year-long bus boycott ended. Buses were integrated later on December 21. The unified and determined struggle had gained national attention and is generally regarded as the beginning of the civil rights movement. Led by a young minister named Martin Luther King, Jr., the Birmingham bus boycott, sparked by Mrs. Rosa Parks' refusal to sit at the back of the bus, caused a great leap in the consciousness of Southern Blacks.

"VENDETTA"

# B.P.P. SUPPORTER VOTED OFF POLICE COMPUTER BOARD



*BPP supporter MOLLY DOUGHERTY with attorney DORON WEINBERG after receiving roses from BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON (background) following her release from jail on contempt of court charge.*

(Oakland, Calif.) - Vindictive threats from the Alameda County Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs Association last week succeeded in pressuring a key swing vote on county Board of Supervisors last week, forcing the removal of Black Panther Party supporter Molly Dougherty from her position as a public oversight member of a county police computer board.

Angered by Ms. Dougherty's refusal to testify as a "matter of conscience" in what she considered a "frameup" in the preliminary hearing against BPP Founder and President Huey P. Newton, the joint chiefs of police, prodded by Chief Charles Plummer of Hayward, demanded the 28-year-old woman be removed from the county board monitoring the CORPUS crime computer system. Plummer threatened personally to resign if Ms. Dougherty were not ousted.

The ploy only swayed newly-elected Supervisor Valerie Raymond, however, and she cast the deciding vote to remove Ms. Dougherty 3 to 2.

Supervisors Bort and Santana both voted for removal, while John George, the county's only Black supervisor, and Fred Cooper who sponsored Ms. Dougherty for the CORPUS Board, voted for her to remain in her oversight position.

The fuss started last Tuesday, November 15, when a letter from the joint chiefs association was presented to the Board.

In response Ms. Dougherty said, in a prepared statement:

"The attempt of the Alameda County Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs Association to have me removed from the Alameda County Committee on Criminal Justice and Data Processing is an effort to exclude from this important Committee someone with whose politics they disagree.

"As a public member of this Committee, I do not have access to confidential information. In fact, part of my job as a member of this Committee is to guard against unauthorized access to the information contained in the CORPUS system. The statements of some Committee members as quoted in the press that I or any other public member have access to confidential information are totally false; moreover, such irresponsible statements only serve to place in jeopardy the public's already tenuous confidence in and understanding of the CORPUS system in particular and of the role of computers in the criminal justice system in general.

"The district attorney has stated to me that in his opinion I should not continue to serve on this Committee because my current public image would jeopardize public confidence in CORPUS. Yet the very public image to which he refers is a creation of the district attorney's office. Through innuendo and misrepresentations caused by the D.A.'s unethical leaks to the press, he is apparently attempting to injure my reputation because of my association with the Black Panther Party.

"My contempt of court citation places me in good company. Many honorable people, including newspaper reporters who refuse to divulge their sources, and recently San Francisco Sheriff Richard Hongisto, have chosen to disobey a 'lawful' order because they saw it as a violation of conscience and of justice. This does not represent contempt for the law but rather a stand against its misuse.

"My decision not to testify was not an easy one. Had this been a legitimate criminal proceeding, I would have had no hesitation in participating, since I believe that Huey Newton is innocent and therefore the truth could only help him. However, I began to see that this was not a normal

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## Ericka Huggins At La Pena

*(Berkeley, Calif.) - ERICKA HUGGINS, a leading member of the Black Panther Party, examined the 11 years of political repression suffered by the Party at the hands of the U.S. government in a special forum on repression in the U.S., Chile and South Africa held at La Pena Cultural Center and Restaurant last Friday. Also appearing on the program was a Chileon refugee who described the severe repression being carried out by the present fascist government in that country. The penetrating film on South African apartheid,* Last Grave At Dimbaza, *was also shown.*



## Huey Arraigned: "Not Guilty"

*(Oakland, Calif.) - Firmly asserting his innocence, Black Panther Party Founder and President HUEY P. NEWTON meets the press following his arraignment last Monday in Alameda County Superior Court. January 2, 1978, was the date set for preliminary motions in the case, at which time chief defense counsel SHELDON OTIS says he will renew several discovery motions seeking FBI files and other documents linking the vice squad plot against Huey with the ongoing federal police conspiracy to destroy the Black Panther Party.*

# "HOW SOON WE FORGET WHERE WE CAME FROM"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

obligation to take time out...to gather our children around us and tell them where we've come from and where we've been in order that we might get a clearer and more concise picture of where we plan to go."

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of Benjamin Hooks' stirring address.

"I hope that when we go all over this country speaking, we will get some folk who will stand with us. There are times when it's important that we stand together, and for people of good will, of all ages, it is now — perhaps one of the most conservative ages we have lived in in the last 30 years.

"I have a marvelous board of directors, 64 strong, very eager to praise and very adept at criticizing. If you are man born of Black woman aspiring to leadership, you will find that your days are shortened and full of troubles. You bide not long in one place and spring up like a flower soon cut down.

"We need you to stand with us. We've had enough criticism already.

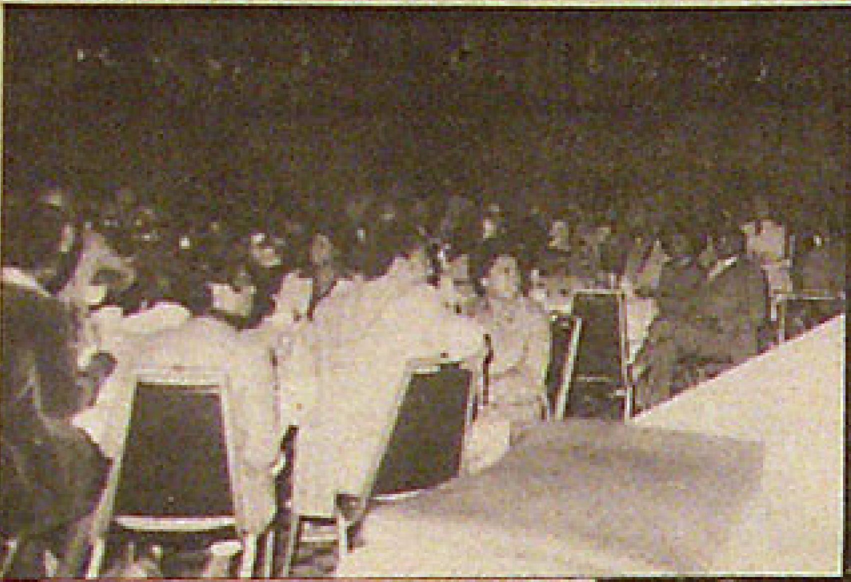
"I am reminded of the story told of the pastor who had a marvelous deacon, the kind who always made motions and smoked a pipe. He had a very bad habit, though, on Sunday morning. When the pastor would preach, this brother would go to sleep. He would just sit there and sleep, sleep, sleep. The pastor decided that maybe if he could embarrass him one day, he could get him not to sleep in church anymore.

"On this particular Sunday, the pastor was preaching, waxing eloquently. About one-third of the way through his sermon he could hear the deacon snoring. The pastor looked out over the pulpit, and there he was, bobbing his head up and down.

"The pastor stopped his sermon and said, 'I want everybody in the church this morning who wants to go to heaven to stand right now.' You know all of us want to go to heaven, so all over the church they stood. Nobody was sitting but this brother who was asleep.

"The pastor then said, 'Now sit down quickly. I want everybody who wants to go to the other place, Hades, to stand.' The noise of all these folk awakened this brother. He stood, the only person in the congregation standing. Folks were giggling and laughing at him. He looked around and realized that something wasn't quite right, so he held up his hand for permission to say a word.

" 'Brother pastor,' " he said,





BPINS photos

*NAACP leader BENJAMIN HOOKS was well-received at a speaking engagement last week in Jack London Square's Goodman Hall.*

'I want to say that I really don't understand what the vote is all about this morning. But as I look around this church, one thing is quite obvious. I notice there are only two of us standing, you and me. Wherever you are, that's where I want to be. Reverend, I'm with you.'

"In 1949 I went back to Memphis, Tennessee, to engage in the practice of law. I use that word because I went back advisedly. As the brothers here pointed out, I was born, raised and educated in Memphis. I went into the Army and was a combat veteran in World War II.

"Afterwards, I came back to Memphis. The city of Memphis made no provisions for any Black person to receive a law school education. I was forced to go to Chicago to attend school where I spent three years.

"While I was there, I ran into a number of people who had formerly lived in Memphis many of them warm friends of my family. They literally begged me to stay in Chicago because there were so many opportunities for young lawyers in those days. They were involved in politics, commerce and the law.

"But I had made a conscious decision that I was going back to Memphis because I wanted to have some part to play in changing a rigidly closed society into an open society. For that reason, I went back to Memphis.

"When I got there in 1949, I went to the courthouse. I was never treated with any respect in those days. When I went to the jail to visit my clients, they treated me like a criminal.

"One day I went in to use the law library. This library, even though it was located in the courthouse, belonged to the Shelby County Bar Association. The librarian met me when I sat down and said, 'You can't use this library.'

"I wanted to know why. She handed me a little book and said, 'Read this and maybe you'll understand.'

"I went back to the office with the little booklet and opened it up. The first words in it said, 'The Bar Association of Memphis in Shelby County, Tennessee, is open to all White lawyers practicing in this vicinity.'

"The librarian let me understand that if I wanted to use the library, I could make some special arrangements.

"I never walked back into that library until I could walk into it as a full fledged citizen. There is one thing that I've learned, and that is that you may not be able to conquer evil all the time, but you never have to cooperate with it.

"I remember that there was not a single place where White or Black lawyers could sit down together to have a coke or a beer or discuss our cases without violating the law. Every door was rigidly closed in our faces.

"I don't recite all these things out of vindictiveness or bitterness, but I talk about them because so soon we forget where we came from.

"I went into a bank in Memphis to apply for a job as a teller. I said that I wanted to be an apprentice for a junior officer, and I barely escaped with my life. Those of you who lived in the North or out in the West would have gotten out alive, but they may have put you in an insane asylum in 1949.

"We've come up a way that has been watered with tears, but we have forgotten so soon.

"It's evident that as we move around this country, we meet people who are satisfied now. Yet, there is one thing I have learned in these past 12 months and during the five years I was on the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) — that there is a mood of conservatism settling over this country the like of which is difficult to explain. I think there is a danger that many of the gains we've made could be rolled back.

"I understand that those of you who are intelligent and articulate don't believe that, but I invite you to go back and read the record. Marvelous progress was made by Black people from 1865 to 1877, but you recall how when President Hayes withdrew the federal troops from the South, all the marveous gains that we had made were wiped out. By 1902, there was not a single thing that we had gained that we still had except our freedom.

"Those of you who think it can't happen here, watch the Bakke case. Watch the cries of reverse discrimination. Before the ink gets dry on the statute books, they're trying to roll back the pages. Legislation is being introduced in every state and every single thing that we've gained my brothers and sisters, in terms of civil rights progress, is in danger of being extinguished today.

"One of my good friends who is a journalist went to a state school. I won't call the name of the school. He was conducting a seminar for 20 young Black brothers and sisters who were in the senior class in journalism school.

"On that particular day, he was discussing how to interview a celebrity. He said, 'Suppose you were called on to interview a woman like Rosa Parks. How would you go about it?'

"He asked this one and that one, and then it dawned on him that they didn't seem to be very familiar with Rosa Parks. He asked how many of them knew who Rosa Parks was and what she did.

"Just two years ago, in one of our major universities, 20 graduating seniors in a journalism school, not one of them really knew who Rosa Parks was. So soon we forget, this gallant woman who, in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to move to the back of the bus that night."

TO BE CONTINUED

# K.K.K. BIGOT CONVICTED FOR 1963 BIRMINGHAM CHURCH BOMBING

(Birmingham, Ala.) - A White former KKK bigot was found guilty of first degree murder here last week and sentenced to life imprisonment for the death of one of four young Black girls killed in the infamous September 15, 1963, bombing of Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church — one of the most hideous attacks against Black people during the civil rights struggle.

Former Ku Klux Klansman Robert Chambliss was convicted



*Scene from funeral of four young Black girls murdered in September 15, 1963, bombing of Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church.*

by a jury of nine Whites and three Blacks for the death of 11-year-old Denise McNair. The chief prosecutor in the case, Alabama Attorney General William Baxley, stated earlier that if Chambliss was convicted, he would seek further indictments in the case.

Baxley, a candidate for governor next year, has not ruled out trying Chambliss, who is charged with four separate counts of murder for the death of the three other girls, but is claiming that he wants to concentrate on bringing others involved in the cowardly bombing to trial.

In Chambliss' trial, the state charged that the avowed White supremacist, who has a history of Ku Klux Klan involvement and violent attacks against Black people, "placed or caused to be placed," a timed explosive in the 16th Street Baptist Church a few hours before Sunday School classes were scheduled.

In the blast, the four girls lost their lives and 22 others were wounded as the explosion ripped through a brick and rock wall of the church. If she had lived, Ms. McNair would have celebrated her 26th birthday last week.

A major obstacle which prevented the case from coming to trial earlier, aside from the racist attitudes of Alabama officials at the time, was the FBI's refusal to divulge information which it had gathered within a few months after the bombing. Most of the evidence presented in this case came from these FBI files — which were released only within the past year.

In the four days of testimony, reports the *New York Times*, one witness testified that Chambliss had boasted to him that he had enough "stuff" to level half of Birmingham.

Another witness told of seeing "oversized firecrackers" in Chambliss' home. A third testified that Chambliss had boasted that "after Sunday morning they'll beg us to let them segregate."

A fourth witness said that Chambliss remarked, after watching a television report on the blast, "It wasn't meant to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

# N.Y. Cop Sees "Nothing Wrong" With Killing 15-Year-Old Black Youth

(New York, N.Y.) - A White New York cop, testifying for the first time in his trial for the murder of a 15-year-old Black youth on Thanksgiving Day of 1976, boldly said in court, "Obviously I didn't do anything wrong."

Robert Torsney gave a very improbable story on the witness stand, claiming that the youth Randolph Evans, approached him and started to pull out "a silver object which looked like the barrel of a gun."

The alleged gun has never been found although police claim



*Family of slain Black youth Randolph Evans leaving funeral after 15-year-old was murdered by New York cop.*

they found a pair of pliers and a bicycle sprocket a few feet from where the youth were shot — at point-blank range.

When Torsney was originally indicted, the district attorney's office charged him with committing a "totally unprovoked and unjustifiable killing. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, December 11, 1976, issue.)

Torsney and his partner, Matthew Williams, had responded to a radio report of a man with a gun at 515 Mountain Avenue in the Cyprus Hills housing projects of East New York. After futilely searching the building Torsney left, with his hand on his gun.

According to eyewitnesses, Evans approached Torsney, asking if his apartment had been searched. With no provocation,

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# I.S.C. Distributes Free Groceries In Stockton



*(Stockton, Calif.) - The Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC), in conjunction with Western Social Services, gave away over 500 bags of free groceries, with a chicken in every bag, at St. Edwards Church here last Saturday.*

*Some 40 volunteers donated their time and efforts to make this event successful. Over 500 people attended the food giveaway, 100 people were tested for hypertension (high blood pressure) and many took advantage of free legal and welfare counseling. ISC coordinator Mark Zalkin headed a list of speakers who all spoke to the need for poor oppressed people to organize for their survival.*

BPINS photos






## Welfare Hearings Knock Carter Reforms

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

already exists.

One witness, Leona Wade, seemed to summarize the plight of all welfare recipients. Ms. Wade is a recent divorcee with a child to support who has been unable to find a job. She has been seeking employment in a three county area.

Ms. Wade has found herself over-qualified for most of the jobs available to welfare recipients under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and Work Incentive (WIN) program. She has been barely able to scrape together enough money from her assistance payments to cover her $260-a-month rent.

"What am I going to do," she asked, "Am I going to be forced to stay on welfare for the rest of my live?"

San Francisco Mayor George Moscone expressed great concern over the proposed elimination of the CETA program, which provides federal assistance for local employment.

"As the mayor of a city which employs more than 1,500 persons in its CETA public program," Moscone said, "I am greatly disturbed that current provisions of the welfare reform package do not appear to provide adequate guarantees that massive unemployment and severe cutbacks in municipal services will not result from the proposed elimination of CETA funding.



*Black welfare mother.*

Carter's welfare program, said Moscone, "fails just as miserably as its billion-dollar predecessor."

Among the specific complaints raised at both the Oakland and Los Angeles hearing were:

•Carter's proposed cash assistance (direct subsidy) program is set at the bare survival level;

•The new Carter job assistance program will eliminate many of the positions currently funded under CETA, ultimately phasing out the entire program,

•CETA jobs will be reduced to minimum wage,

•No provisions have been made for training poor people to enter the private sector.

At the Los Angeles hearing Keith Comrie, director of the county's Department of Public Social Services, called Carter's proposal, "The Accountant's Full Employment Act of 1977."

"It would probably take 1.4 million accountants," he said, "just to analyze and digest the legislative language" of the proposal. □

## People's Perspective

### Nuclear Plant Accidents

(Boston, Mass.) - The Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) released a report last week charging that at least 15,000 deaths could occur by the year 2000 as a result of accidents at nuclear plants. The nationwide coalition of scientist and engineers said there is a 1.0 per cent chance of a major accident "with nearly 100,000 fatalities" if the nation keeps building nuclear plants at its present rate. UCS said most of the victims would die of "cancer caused by exposure to damaging levels of radiation."

### Police Complaints Cover-Up

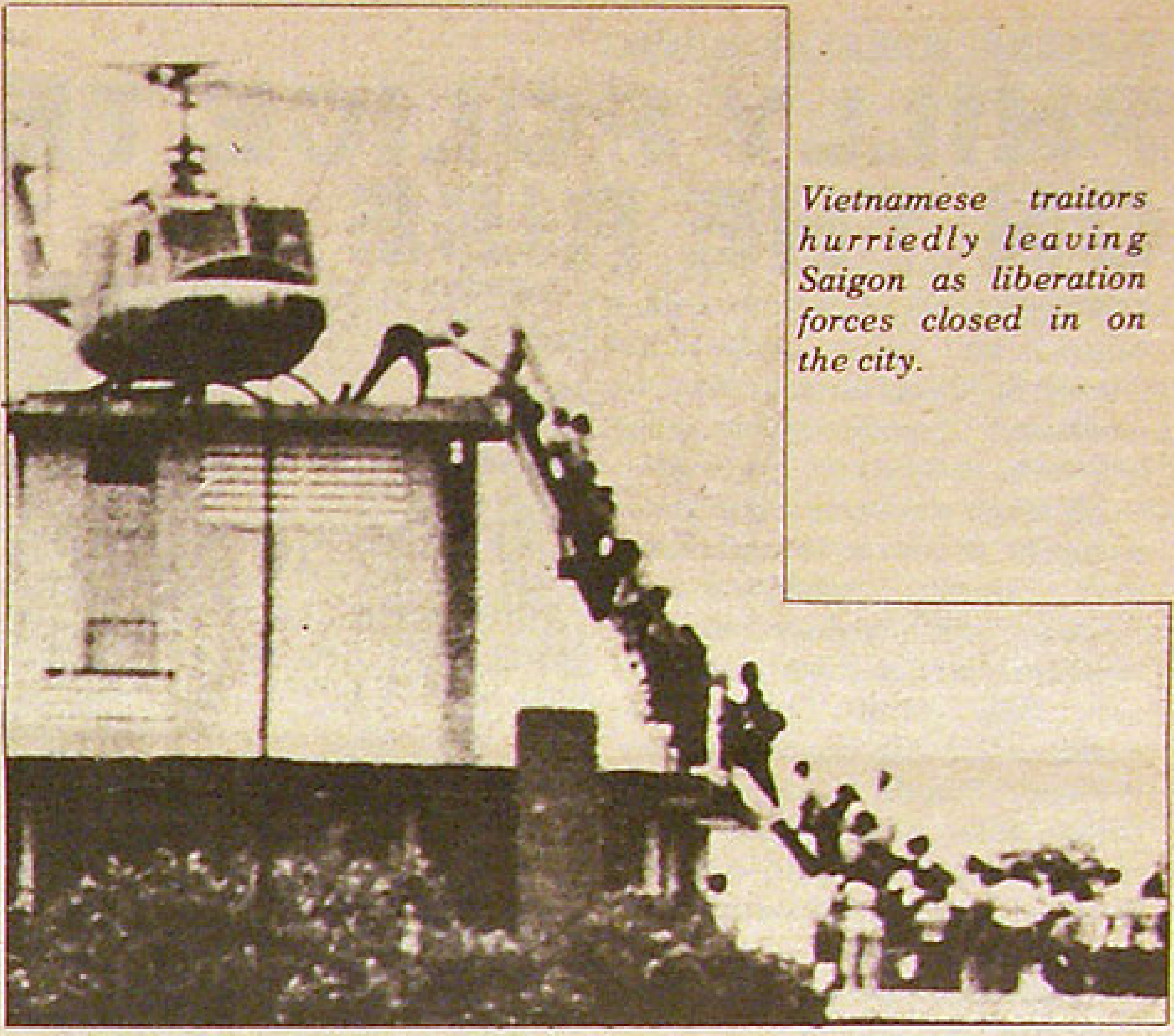
(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Municipal Judge J.M. Newman dismissed a misdemeanor charge last week as a result of the city attorney's refusal to produce records of citizen complaints against the arresting officers. Newman's ruling set the stage for an appellate test of his order granting a defense motion to discover — or gain access to — citizen complaints which have been filed in the past against arresting officers. A 1974 state Supreme Court decision entitles defendants in cases involving assault and battery on police officers or resisting arrest to discover prior citizen complaints which could show the officers involved have aggressive traits.

### Chicago Reading, Math Scores Down

(Chicago, Ill.) - Chicago public schools improved less than half as much in the last school year (1976-1977) as they did the year before, according to the latest test results. The test score results show improvements in only three of the seven age levels tested during the school year that ended in June. As in the past, the scores also show that the longer students stay in the city's public school system, the more they fall behind the averages for reading abilities. Chicago students in the second grade score at the national average and then start to fall behind quickly. By the fifth grade, the average Chicago pupil is a year behind the national level and two years behind the eighth grade.

**"SQUANDERED LIVES, BLOWN SECRETS"**

# EX - C.I.A. ANALYST CALLS SAIGON EVACUATION A "NATIONAL DISGRACE"



*Vietnamese traitors hurriedly leaving Saigon as liberation forces closed in on the city.*

(New York, N.Y.) - A disillusioned, former senior analyst for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in Vietnam has exposed widespread corruption by high-level officials of the CIA and other U.S. officials stemming from what he charged was the spy agency's bungling of the 1975 evacuation from South Vietnam.

Frank Snepp, who was the CIA's principal analyst of North Vietnamese political affairs and prepared the agency's intelligence estimates in the final years of the war, further charges in a book to be published this week — amid close secrecy and without government clearance — that high-level officials of the CIA and other government agencies later prevented an investigation into the panicky retreat of American personnel from Saigon in 1975.

Snepp said the evacuation resulted in "squandered lives, blown secrets, and betrayal of agents, friends and collaborators."

In his 580-paged book, titled *Decent Interval*, Snepp said that not since the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961 had the CIA put so much on the line and lost it. The disenchanted CIA analyst resigned in 1976 following futile attempts to generate interest in an official CIA report on the evacuation.

The North Vietnamese offensive, launched early in March, 1975, routed the army of South Vietnam in 55 days, leaving it panicked and in full retreat. The evacuation program climaxed on the last day with the airlifting of thousands of Vietnamese and Americans from the roof of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, as the North Vietnamese forces were poised outside the city.

As a result of the evacuation planning failure, Snepp writes, the United States left behind 400 members of the South Vietnamese special police branch; another 400 working members of the Central Intelligence Organization, the CIA counterpart in Saigon; a large staff of CIA code clerks and computer operators; at least 70 translators; and hundreds of high-level North Vietnamese defectors who had served as informers.

In addition, Snepp says, the CIA also failed to "insure the destruction of the personal files and intelligence dossiers" that had been assembled with the aid of the South Vietnamese government.

Snepp decried the abandoning of some 30,000 South Vietnamese who were specially trained by the CIA to participate in its Phoenix Program. That operation was aimed at identifying and then jailing or "neutralizing" suspected members of the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong), the Communist Party of South Vietnam.

The book by the disillusioned former intelligence analyst focuses on what Snepp terms the "disgraceful" major failure to plan for the evacuation, due to then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's die-hard attempts to negotiate a coalition government.

*Decent Interval* provides the most detailed account to date of the activities and operations of the CIA inside South Vietnam, as well as giving a firsthand account of high-level disagreements between Washington and Saigon over the use and integrity of intelligence.

Another major revelation in Snepp's account is that the CIA prepared a series of misleading analyses and other materials that were used by the U.S. Embassy in an attempt to knowingly mislead a Congressional fact-finding delegation that visited Saigon in February, 1975, to study a Ford administration request for more military aid.

Shortly after the fall of Saigon, Snepp says, he reported candidly to the CIA inspector general — at

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

# Bloody Melee Erupts As Carter Greets Shah Of Iran

(Washington, D.C.) - Thousands of Iranian students protesting the visit of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran here last week were viciously attacked by police and Shah supporters in a bloody melee near the White House that left 92 demonstrators injured and tear gas fumes disrupting Carter administration welcoming ceremonies for the pro-Western monarch.

The 8,000 anti-Shah protesters and Shah supporters, the latter reportedly sponsored by the Iranian government, made up the largest demonstration in the nation's capital since the Vietnam antiwar protests. Eleven demonstrators were arrested.

The welcoming ceremonies on the White House lawn were disrupted by the noise of police and Shah supporters battling anti-Shah protesters several hundred yards away. President Carter winced when stinging tear gas set off by police reached the podium, while the Shah had to pull out a handkerchief to wipe tears from his face.

Shah Pahlavi and President Carter concluded their two days of talks with the President endorsing the Iranian monarch's request for arms — including 140 jet fighters — in exchange for the





*The Shah of Iran was greeted by thousands of demonstrators in his recent U.S. visit.*

Shah's active opposition to any oil price increase at next month's meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. The underdeveloped countries of the 13-nation oil exporting group have thus far resisted pressure from the United States and other industrialized countries who are demanding a freeze on oil prices.

In San Francisco, over 1,500 demonstrators staged a rally in front of the Iranian consulate and five Iranian demonstrators

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**BEATENS, MURDERS MOUNT**

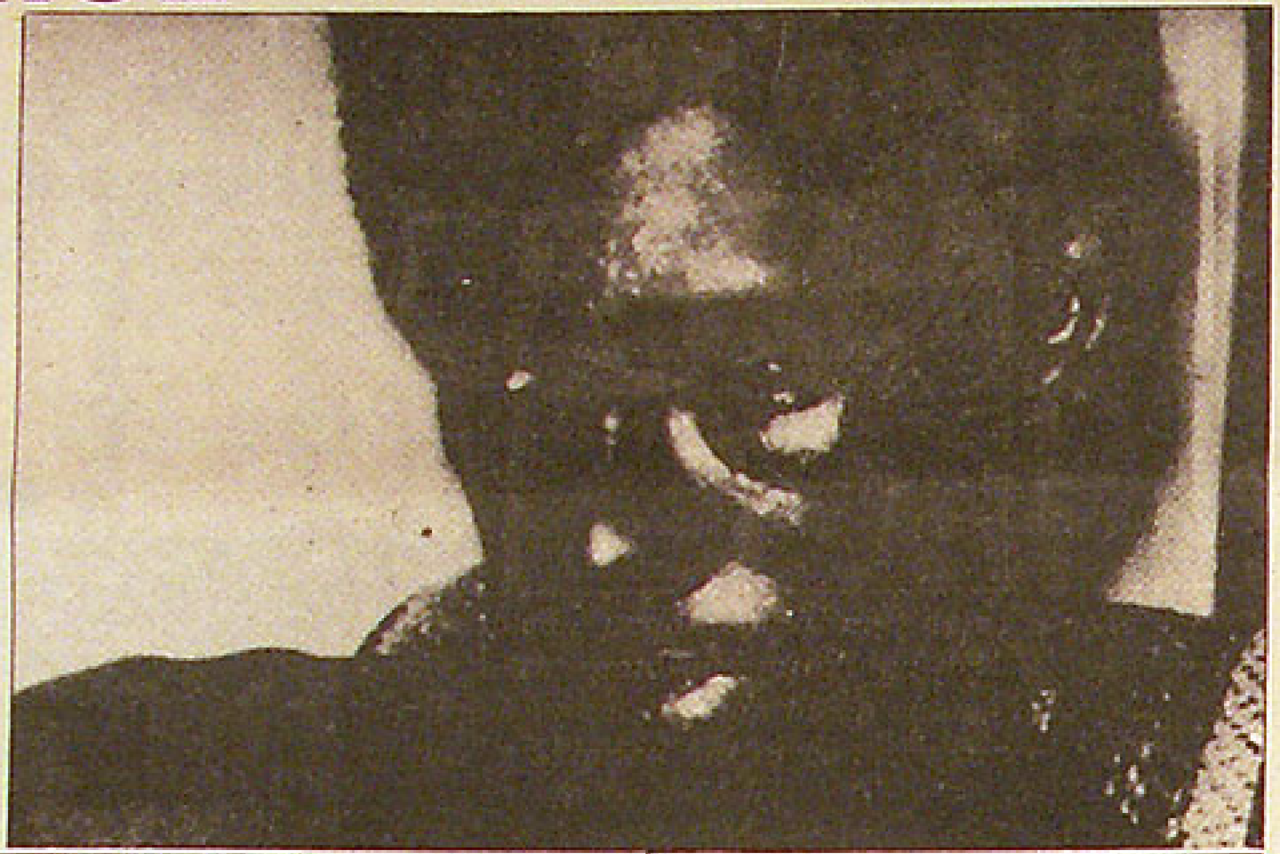
# PHILLY POLICE TERROR ON THE RISE

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - Police violence and abuse here in the City of Brotherly love is steadily escalating despite an ongoing federal investigation.

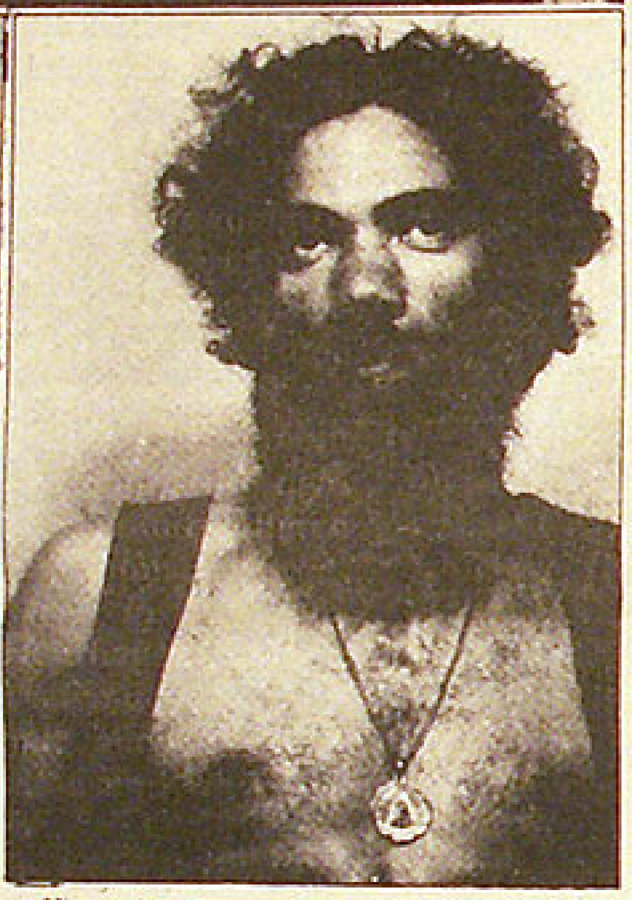
Although the systematic abuse of power is not a new phenomenon, several cases of cop beatings and murders have recently received national publicity.

In July, Jose Reyes was murdered in his home; in May, William Cradle was viciously beaten after he allegedly ran a red light, and in April, Alvestus Goode was similarly beaten in his gas station.

Hundreds of people have been victimized by less severe or less







*WILLIAM CRADLE (top photo) was brutally beaten by Philadelphia police and protest rally demanding justice for JOSE REYES, shot to death by White cops.*

publicized instances of abuse. The Public Interest Law Center of Phildelphia (PILCOP) reported that last year 603 complaints of abuse were filed with its Police Abuse Project.

As one Black Philadelphian told the *Guardian*, "I guess just about every Black and Latin guy in this city, especially the young ones, has had some negative experience with the cops."

Phildelphia's problem not only reflects a national trend of rising police brutality and racism. It is also exacerbated by exceptionally high unemployment rates — officially 19.2 per cent for Blacks last year.

Police terror has been consciously used to intimidate an evermore oppressed population likely to rebel at any moment.

There is another factor, the one residents unanimously point to as the most outstanding reason for the city's police brutality — Mayor Rizzo.

Former police Commissioner Frank Rizzo is well known for forcing Black Panther Party members to strip in the street following a raid on their headquarters here several years ago. As mayor, he continues to defend and promote a terroristic police department.

The killing of Jose Reyes and subsequent outcry of the Puerto Rican community, followed by a police occupation of Reyes' neighborhood throughout the summer, is perhaps the most outrageous case of police racism and terror in the recent months.

Reyes, a 28-year-old father of six childen, had been the victim of police harassment for years. He was never involved in anything that could be construed as illegal, though he was repeatedly arrested for trivial matters, according to Juan Ramos, a longtime Philadelphia resident.

"But for years, he did not tolerate any lip from the police," Ramos told the Guadian. "He always stood up against the abuse of the police department. He had a history of rebellion against the police. Due to the rebellious attitude that he had, the police killed him."

Reyes was shot one Saturday morning this July. The cops had come to his residence after allegedly being summoned by a neighbor who complained about Reyes banging on his 1957 Chevrolet. They fired one shot through the window of the police van, grazing one of Reyes' neighbors.

"Jose yelled something at the cops," Ramos related, "and then folks saw him sprawled — one foot outside the doorway the rest of his body in the hall."

Reyes' death touched off a wave of protest in the community organized by the Puerto Rican Action Committee.

The *Inquirer* reports have focused national attention on the city. Community protests, including a May meeting at which investigations and firings were demanded, were responsible for the reports as well as for public hearings conducted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last summer and the opening of a federal probe into the problem. Since June, at least a dozen cops have been indicted by the federal grand jury, although only five have been indicted by the district attorney's office. □

## BEHIND THE WALLS

### Black Prisoners In England Charge Reign Of Terror

(Wandsworth, England) - Prison Warder guards here in Wandsworth Prison are engaged in a systematic reign of terror against Black prisoners.

Over 12 per cent of Wandsworth prison population are Black and the majority of prisoners under internal discipline and punishment are from the Caribbean. The main point of confrontation is not between prisoners but between warders and the Black prisoners. Warders at Wandsworth have earned their reputation as being the toughest at the expense of Black prisoners. Many of them openly exhibit racist feelings and behavior and proudly proclaim their sympathies for the racist National Front. As one officer boasted: *"We don't have to be paid-up members of the National Front; we vote for them and believe in them. We are the equivalent of the K.K.K."*

To make matters worse, there is no way prisoners can seek redress from the racist taunts and physical abuse of the warders. The governor of the prison is well-known for his tough attitudes towards Blacks and his blind allegiance to his staff. This governor was the former governor at Reading Prison where six youths died from prison violence. One prisoner was told in front of the governor: *"We cannot get you out of this country but we could cripple you"*.

Most prisoners live in fear whenever there is a racial incident outside because they know that the repercussions will be severe inside. After the incidents at West Indian Carnival and Lewisham, several Black prisoners were picked on to provoke a retaliation. The warders used taunts and trumped-up charges to get the Blacks.

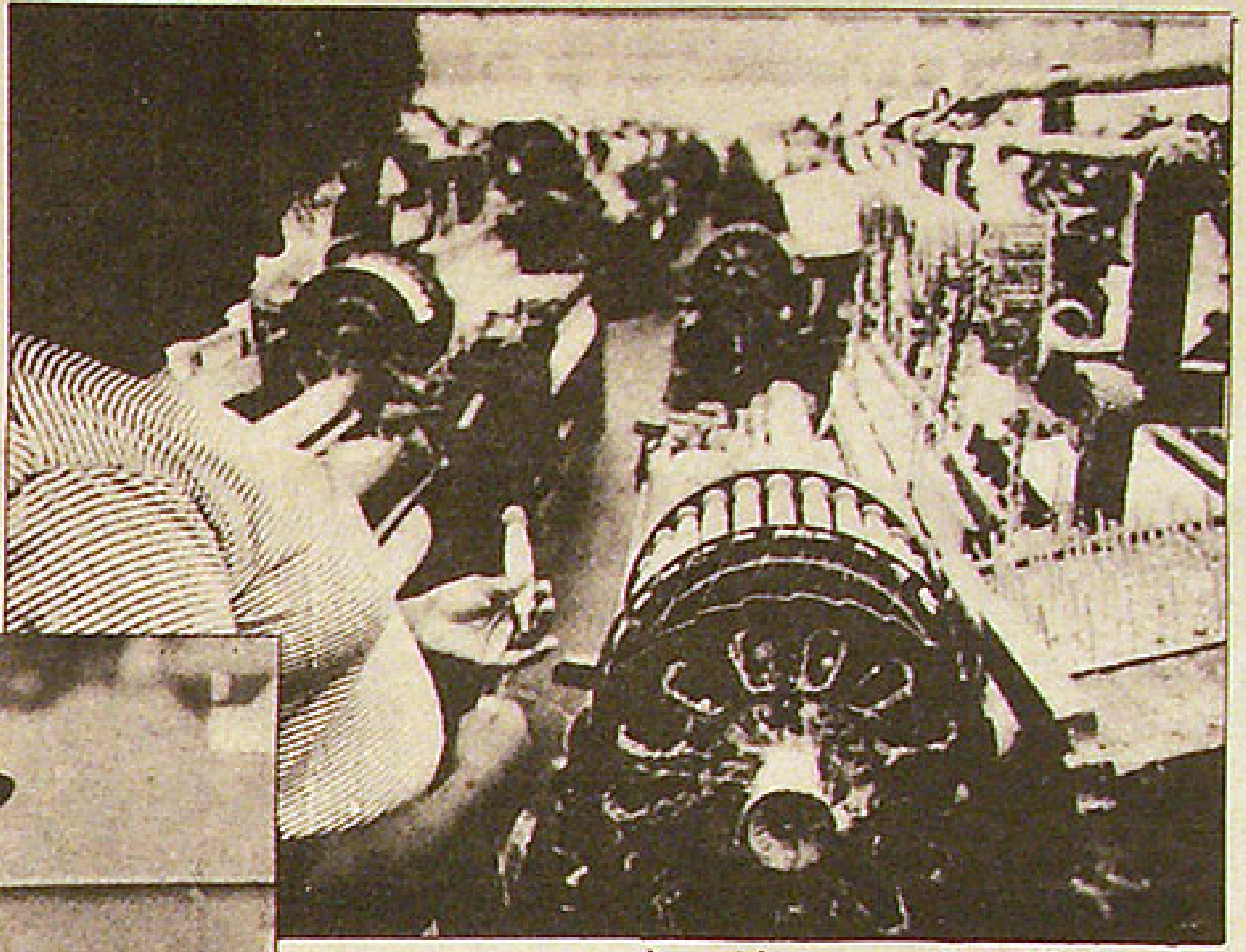
This reign of terror against Black prisoners continues today. In fact, many Black prisoners are sent specifically to Wandsworth for "breaking in". This situation must be exposed and steps taken to stop it. We would welcome any evidence from ex-prisoners of their treatment in prison so as to further expose the systematic brutality practiced in British prisons against Black people.

**DEADLY DISEASE DESTROYS LUNG CAPACITY**

# CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED TO DEMAND "BROWN LUNG" COMPENSATION

(Columbia, S.C.) - The Southern Poverty Law Center recently launched a nationwide campaign to force textile mills to pay compensation to workers afflicted with the deadly "brown lung" disease.

Over 100,000 retired and present cotton mill workers suffer from the disease which is caused by the contamination of the lungs by cotton dust. The respiratory disease, known medically as byssinosis, seriously impairs lung capacity and leads to coughing and shortness of breath. A large percentage of workers suffer irreversible lung damage.





*Textile workers are constantly exposed to cotton dust, which causes the deadly "brown lung" disease.*

One victim of the disease, Flossie Strickland of Columbia, South Carolina, comments, "I just started to smother after I had been working in the spinning room for a few years.

"It was all that cotton dust flying around," she went on. "I couldn't breathe. I finally had to quit work five years early — no pension, no medical compensation, not even one of those sheets we were making."

Beatrice Norton of Saxon, South Carolina, started working in Arcadia's Mayfair Mills at the age of 14. After 32 years of "eating dust," "brown lung" has destroyed half of her lungs' breathing capacity. When she was forced to quit in 1968 at the age of 50, she was given $2,500 in profit sharing or $78 for each year that she worked.

Mrs. Norton is unable to perform any physical activities and lives alone in a small cottage on a meager Social Security pension. She attributes the early deaths of her mother, stepfather and husband, all mill workers, to "brown lung" disease.

Another mill worker, 52-year-old Woody Clark, started working in the mills at the age of nine. Two years ago he was told he could never work again. "Brown lung" disease had destroyed all but 26 per cent of his breathing capacity.

With no jobs, no pension and no compensation for the 11 different kinds of medication he must take daily, Clark has nothing to show for 41 years of hard work.

Due to pressure from labor and medical lobbies, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has proposed a strict limit on the amount of cotton dust that 200,000 workers who are exposed to it can breathe. The textile industry is resisting these new standards claiming that they would require the installation of more than $2.5 billion worth of dust-catching equipment.

The new federal standards would limit the amount of cotton dust a worker could breathe during an eight-hour shift to 200 micrograms per cubic meter of air. This is one-fifth of the amount allowed by a 1971 federal standard — one that was never really enforced.

The SPLC believes that the mills will never install the necessary air filtration systems to lower dust levels until they are forced to pay compensation. □

# *South Bronx Domestic Workers Strike*

(New York, N.Y.) - About 200 housekeepers in the South Bronx, New York, staged a two week strike in late October, forcing their employer to agree to their demand for a union-certification election.

The women, mostly Black and Hispanic, are employed by the Morrisania Community Corporation's Medicaid-funded Housekeeping Vendor Program — which sends them to clients who are sick or disabled and in need of housekeeping care.

The workers are paid an average of $2.50 an hour, with no health or pension benefits and minimal sick leaves and vacations. Their travel expenses as they shunt from one job assignment to the next must come out of their own paychecks. And if they want lunch, they have to eat it on the subway or bus between jobs.

Meanwhile, the corporation is reimbursed by Medicaid at the rate of $4.20 for every hour the housekeepers work. And according to a recent city audit, the program made the company a healthy profit of about 14 per cent last year.

"My clients are in full support of this work stoppage," Francine Beale, one of the striking housekeepers, told a reporter for the *Daily World* while marching on the picketline October 25.

"All I want is a good standard of living, sick leave and decent wages — what they have," she said, pointing to the Corporation board room.

The housekeepers first began meeting back in August with La Raza Unida, a group of South Bronx community activists. In September, they called in Teamster Local 854 after learning that it was aiding domestic workers organizing at another public agency.





*Domestic workers are demanding decent wages for their work. Housekeepers recently went on strike in New York.*

Out of 217 housekeepers at Morrisania, 190 signed union pledge cards asking for an election to have Local 854 represent them.

But the Morrisania Board repeatedly refused to meet with the women or to agree to their demands for an election. So in mid-October they staged a sit-in at the agency's headquarters, followed by the strike.

On November 2, after the Board had still made no moves, several hundred people demonstrated outside the Board meeting — and the Board finally agreed to a consent election run by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). □

# "The Poor Win By Mass Protest"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

dential election of 1976 also revealed the importance of the Black vote in national politics, acknowledged symbolically by Black appointments to a Cabinet post and to a United Nations ambassadorship.

Still, the destruction of the Black lower class continues unabated. The Black leadership stratum complains bitterly and publicly, but it is helpless to alter the policies that so afflict the mass of its constituents, especially economic policies that fail to stem unemployment.

The false promise of electoral politics is revealed in past





*The 1963 March on Washington (above) and Blacks endure high pressure water hoses in one of the many civil rights demonstrations held in the South during the 1960's. The March on Washington and nearly a decade of protest lead to the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Labor has also learned that change only comes through mass protest.*

struggles by the poor as well. The long and bloody struggle by laboring people for the right to organize and bargain collectively is a case in point. However great their numbers at the polls, striking workers could not restrain their mayors, their governors, and their Presidents from sending police, militia, and state and federal troops against them.

As Eugene V. Debs said after the strike by his American Railway Union was crushed by the federal government in 1894:

"We have no power of the government behind us. We have no recognized influence in society on our side...On the other side, the corporations have all the things that money can command...the press...the courts...the state militia...the federal troops;...everything and all things on the side of the corporations."

Workers did finally win some workplace rights through the Wagner Act of 1935. But they did not win those rights at the polls. The terrible travails of the Great Depression produced unprecedented waves of strikes that threatened Franklin D. Roosevelt's policies for economic recovery; consequently, the federal government momentarily broke with business and for a time, concessions were granted to workers.

In the post-World War II period, Blacks also made some gains; like the industrial workers before them, they too welled up in unprecedented waves of protest that took form in boycotts, sit-ins, demonstrations and riots, threatening to split the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic Party. To ward off that threat, national Democratic leaders yielded the desegregation of public accommodations, the right to vote, and expanded public and private employment.

The experience of the movements of industrial workers and of Blacks are similar in another way as well. In the wake of protest, each turned to electoral politics, and with comparable results. Organized labor could not sustain by politics what workers had won by mass strikes; the provisions of the Wagner Act were slowly eroded, notably by the passage of Taft-Hartley in 1947 and by the subsequent spread of right-to-work laws.

And as Blacks emerged from the protests of the 1960's they too organized for electoral politics. But they have not been able to sustain the employment gains that the turbulence of the 1960's produced: Rates of Black unemployment are higher in the 1970's than at any time since World War II.

The historical lesson seems clear, although our credo blinds us to it. What the poor win in American politics, when they win at all, they win by mass protest, for the disturbances they create may force political leaders to respond. If this lesson emerges from the struggles of the past, it is only reaffirmed by the lack of struggle and the lack of response at this time.□

# Bigot Convicted For Bombing

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

hurt anybody. It didn't go off when it was supposed to."

Evidence produced by the prosecution revealed that the bomb was detonated by a timer fashioned from a water container with a small leak and a plastic float. As the water slowly leaked from the bucket and the float sank, the bomb was triggered by the completion of an electrical circuit.

In his closing arguments Baxley held up pictures of maimed bodies and shattered religious objects and told the jury, "Let the world know that this is not the way the people of Alabama feel..."

The state claimed that it wanted to ask for a death penalty but couldn't due to a 1973 ruling by the U.S Supreme Court which abolished the state capital punishment law. Ironically the death sentence, before the Supreme Court ruling, was used primarily against Black and poor people in Alabama.

Baxley is almost certain to use this conviction to gain votes from the Black community in his gubernatorial campaign. Denise McNair's father, Chris McNair, currently holds a seat in the Alabama House of Representatives.□



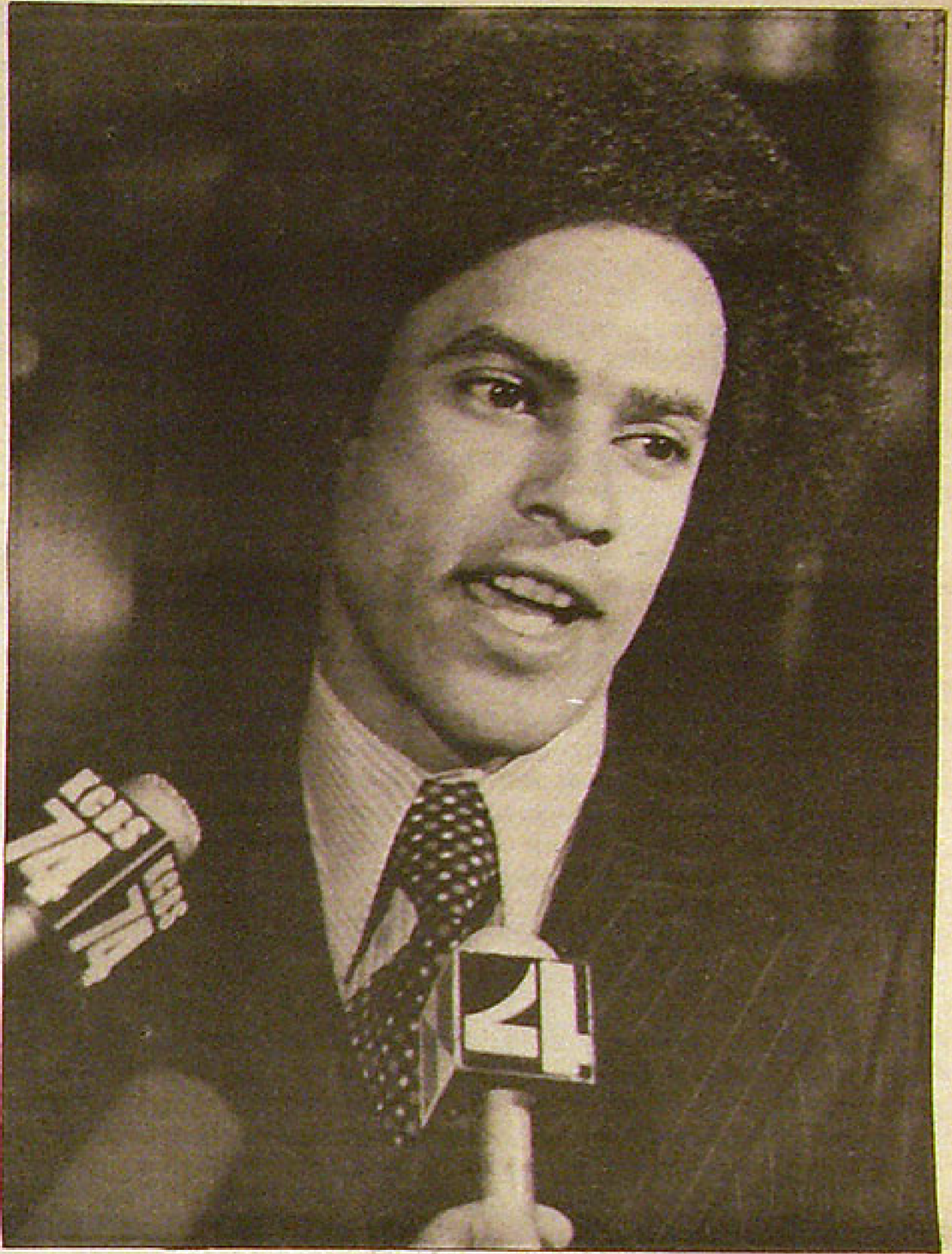


*Woman collapses during funeral services held after Birmingham church bombing (left) and convicted bomber RICHARD CHAMBLISS (far right) with lawyer.*

# REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

## Huey P. Newton

## "Rebuilding"



HUEY P. NEWTON

*In this section of the chapter "Rebuilding" from* Revolutionary Suicide, *the treachery of Eldridge Cleaver in 1971 becomes fully exposed. Black Panther Party founder and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton explains how the Party dealt with this difficult period.*

Immediately after these public charges against Hilliard, the key members in four Black Panther branches in New York and one in New Jersey publicly announced that they supported Eldridge and thereby resigned from the Party. Obviously this campaign had been planned well in advance. The perpetrators were only waiting for a propitious time to carry it out.

The final evidence of the plot came when Connie Matthews Tabor and Michael Cetawayo Tabor turned up in Algiers. Everything pointed to the fact that Eldridge had sent Connie here in October of 1970 with subversion in mind, and it finally came to pass in February, 1971. Eldridge's defection was now out in the open.

### TENSE

The next few weeks were tense, but we went ahead with our preparations for the Intercommunal Day of Solidarity on March 5. I was now to be the keynote speaker. I knew that everybody at the rally would expect me to say something about Cleaver in answer to all the charges he was making against us through transatlantic interviews. But when the night of the rally arrived, I decided against mentioning him and gave a brief address with no direct reference.

The rally was a great success. It raised the people's awareness of the survival programs and brought increased support for political prisoners. More and more people from the Black community were joining us in our determination that political oppression, imprisonment, and even death would not deter us from our efforts to free our imprisoned brothers and sisters.

The spring and summer following the rally brought increased momentum into my life. The survival programs, the Ideological Institute, the reorganization of the Party required my full attention. And events — both tragic and joyful — rushed in on one another during those months. At the end of May, Bobby and Ericka, who had been defended by Charles Garry, were acquitted of the false charges brought against them by the state of Connecticut.

After a brief delay, Bobby was released, and he and Ericka returned to Oakland to resume their work in the community. Seeing Bobby again was a moving experience. We had not been together on the streets of Oakland since August, 1967, in the early, uncertain days of the Black Panther Party. Now, almost four years later, we were once again on the block with our comrades.

We had gone through a great deal of danger and pain during those years, but we had survived, stronger and more committed than ever. Everything we had suffered had been worth the price. And during that time the Party had grown from a local group to a network of branches and chapters in North America and abroad.

Many of our noble warriors had been cut down, and other early members had shown themselves unable to withstand the pressures of a protracted revolutionary struggle, but we were happy to be together again, united in our goals for our people.

The Establishment, however, was determined to keep us on the defensive. The district attorney of Alameda County began his moves to have me tried a second time. Even more serious were his efforts to railroad Chief of Staff David Hilliard into prison on the trumped-up charges that had come from the shoot-out on April 6, 1968, when Bobby Hutton had been murdered.

The charge: assault with a deadly weapon against a police officer "known to be in pursuit of his duty." David had been arrested that night, although there was no evidence that he had a weapon or even that he was at the scene of the shoot-out.

Yet the district attorney who had conducted his prosecution got the kind of jury he wanted (as they usually do) and was able to lead them into convicting David on these charges, even though the district attorney himself could not prove that David had a weapon. Once again the Black Panther Party got the kind of "justice" we have come to expect. In July David was sentenced to serve one to ten years in the state prison and was quickly whisked off to Vacaville, as I had been three years earlier.

During the five years since the Party had been formed, it always seemed that time was measured not in days or months or hours but by the movements of comrades and brothers in and out of prison and by the dates of hearings, releases, and trials. Our lives were regulated not by the ordinary tempo of daily events but by the forced clockwork of the judicial process.

No sooner had David begun serving his term than we turned our attention to the upcoming trial of George Jackson, who had been falsely charged with killing a prison guard at San Quentin. His trial was scheduled for August 23. Two days before it was to begin, on August 21, while attempting to save his brothers in a San Quentin cell block from being massacred by guards, he was shot and killed by his enemies. He had fulfilled his own prophecy: "I know that they will not be satisfied until they've pushed me out of this existence altogether."

**TO BE CONTINUED**

## OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLAY FEATURES TALENTED YOUTH

# "GIVING THANKS" EXAMINES BLACKS WHO FOUGHT FOR U.S.

(Oakland, Calif.) - The sacrifices made by Black people who fought in U.S. wars was examined in a play performed by the children of the Oakland Community School last Sunday entitled *Giving Thanks*.

Conceived and written by the children of the School, the entertaining performance, which provided an insightful look into Thanksgiving in the Black community, also featured the remarkable singing talents of two Level 6 students, Dejada Metcalfe, nine, and Richard Littlejohn, 10.

Prior to the play, the children of Levels 1-3, who range in age from 2½ to 5, sang an enthusiastic rendition of "Wheels On A Bus."

Set in New York City, *Giving Thanks* is the story of three generations of a Black family who fought for the U.S. The story is told by Greatgrandfather, played by 11-year-old Gregory Wilson, as his greatgrandchildren gather around him on Thanksgiving Day.

First, Greatgrandfather recounts the experiences that he and three of his young friends, one of them a Native American, had after returning home in 1919 following the close of World War I. Each had ambitious plans for their lives, one to be a boxer and a lawyer, another to open up a nightclub. However, as is so often the case with Black and other poor people in America, most of their dreams were deferred.

The four war comrades did not see each other again until 10 years later in 1929, when the Great Depression was at its peak. As it turned out, only one of the four young men had achieved his goal and that was Batman Brown, played by 10-year-old Kevin Keyes, who had opened up a successful nightclub. It was here that the four were reunited after a decade.

Amidst the poverty of the Depression, the












*Scenes from "Giving Thanks," last Sunday's Oakland Community School performance: (A) RICHARD LITTLEJOHN, 10, belting out his version of Stevie Wonder's popular tune, "I'll Be Loving You"; (B) Levels 1-3 opening program with song, "Wheels On A Bus"; (C) Greatgrandfather (center), played by GREGORY WILSON, 11, tells the story of three generations of his family who fought for the U.S.; (D) Scene with four young soldiers returning from World War I; (E) OCS children performing dance in costumes of the "Roaring Twenties" period; (F) DEJADA METCALFE, nine, singing the classic, "Stormy Weather."*

community was able to gather at the club for fun and relaxation. Colorful costumes worn by the children reflected the "Roaring Twenties" styles clothes of the period.

The club's star singer, played by Dejada Metcalfe, sang a mellow version of a song made popular by Black singer Lena Horne called "Stormy Weather." The audience applauded warmly and murmured its approval of Dejada's performance, making it clear that the nine-year-old girl, stunningly dressed in a brown fur coat typical of the 1920's, had done justice to the soulful song.

The good times, however, are suddenly interrupted as police swoop down on the club in a raid. Batman Brown is arrested and sentenced to one to 10 years for selling bootleg whiskey. Greatgrandfather, played as a young man by Damon Jackson, is arrested and does time in jail.

The story then continues with Greatgrandfather's son who goes to fight in World War II. The son is killed in action and is greatly mourned by Greatgrandfather. "A part of me died when my son died," Greatgrandfather said, adding that Greatgrandmother "still sets a place for him at the table as if he were coming home." Greatgrandfather's son died without ever seeing his own son.



Family life of trying to make ends meet goes on until an unwelcome message arrives on Thanksgiving Day, November 26, 1969. On that day, Greatgrandfather's grandson receives a draft notice for the Vietnam War. Greatgrandfather protested that his grandson would not fight in this war because his family had made enough sacrifices fighting for America. Consequently, the grandson was imprisoned for two years for draft evasion.

When he returned home two years later on Thanksgiving Day, there was a big family celebration. Greatgrandfather, commenting on the "tradition" of war, was critical of a "tradition" that had cost his family so much pain and suffering.

For the finale of the program Richard Littlejohn, joined by the children of Levels 4-7, sang "I'll Be Loving You." Ten-year-old Richard, already an accomplished singer, had everyone clapping their hands and patting their feet as he belted out the popular Stevie Wonder hit.

*Giving Thanks* was a solemn reminder that despite the thousands of Black people who have died fighting to preserve the "free world," America continues to deny basic human rights to a people who have sacrificed so much and have received so little in return. □

# SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID, AS REAL AND PAINFUL AS EVER

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Mymoena Salie, a bathing beauty from Cape Town, recently became the first Black woman to win a multiracial beauty contest in South Africa. Miss Salie found herself unable to accept her prize — a two-week seaside vacation — because the hotel did not admit Blacks.

This incident, and the thousands of other unpublished ones that are a daily feature of South African life, have convinced many of the country's 18.6 million Blacks that the government representing the 4.3 million Whites is dishonest in its promise, now three years old, to move away from petty discrimination.

(When it comes to serious discrimination, which consigns the races to both a separate and unequal life, the government is making no promises.)

"It's like trying to go up that escalator," said a Black hotel worker, pointing to the belt moving downward. "Every time I'm told I've taked a step up, I look around and everything I see — my job, my house, the school for my boys — it all tells me I'm moving backward."

**ON THE SURFACE**

On the surface, there have been some changes, but they are superficial indeed. In the major cities, a handful of hotels are now classified as "international" and so can legally accomodate Blacks. But their prices place them out of reach for almost the entire Black population, the *New York Times* reports.

Some theaters, churches and sporting clubs have taken cautious steps, in violation of the law, to mix Blacks and Whites. The government, aware of these steps, has turned a blind eye and the liberal English-language press, by unspoken consent, does not publicize them. But as soon as a citizen registers a complaint, the experiment in integration is swiftly ended.

Some government officials favor easing "unnecessary" discrimination as a means of blunting Black protest and regaining a measure of international respectability. Others argue strongly for their retention, on the theory that if a single stone is removed, the entire edifice of White rule could come crumbling down.

Almost no Whites, and certainly none in power, talk about granting Blacks broader political rights or doing away with the bedrock forms of segregation is housing, education and jobs.

Officially, "apartheid" is dead. The government has abandoned that term, which holds noxious connotations overseas, in favor of the more antiseptic "seperate development" or, even, "plural democracy."

The new terminology is more than just a euphemism, however, for it signals an accelerated push toward the scheme of grand apartheid, whose foremost ideologue was former "Prime Minister" Hendrik F. Verwoerd. Under it, the Black population is consigned to nine rural "homelands," where they are to exercise self-rule and eventually gain independence. The Whites, Asians, and persons of mixed blood, known here as Coloreds, own and occupy the remainder. The remainder, as specified by law, is 87 per cent of the land.

Because Black labor is required to run the White economy, however, total separation of the races is impossible. From this dilemma flows the elaborate web of laws that tell a Black where he may live, work, eat, sleep, travel, play games and go to school. The laws are justified, according to party philosophy, because the Blacks are essentially transitory visitors in "White areas" and so totally without rights.

For non-Whites in South Africa, laws govern every movement. The Group Areas Act specifies where the racial groups may live. There are different ones for Whites, Blacks, the 2.4 million Coloreds, and the 750,000 Asians.

The system is as rigid as the country's criteria for racial classificaton, and the two sometimes combine to pull a family apart. If a Colored woman and Black man have children, for example, the offspring are classified as Black and as such cannot legally live with their mother.




The most despised part of the system is "influx control," devised to keep Blacks from migrating at will to White areas. It is maintained through the notorious passbook, which every Black over the age of 16 must carry at all times and produce on demand for the police. It lists his tribal group, where he may live and work, his employer, his tax payments. It is the basic control document, "our badge of slavery," said one teenager from Soweto, the ghetto outside Johannesburg.

Much of the anguish of urban Blacks stems from "Section 10," a provision of the Bantu urban areas) Consolidation Act. Under it, it is illegal for a Black to remain in any urban area, such as Soweto, for more than 72 hours unless he can prove that he has lived there continuously with one employer for at least 10

The hidden intent of the law is to keep the unemployables in the "homelands." Thus, if a man loses his job, or a wife is widowed, they are liable to be "endorsed out," sent to their "homelands, which, in many cases, they have never seen before.

There are countless more laws that regulate the Black man's working life, laws that prevent him from organizing into unions, from occupying any one of 100,000 skilled jobs reserved for Whites, from holding down positions of supervision over Whites, and from receiving equal pay.

But a striking feature of the influx laws, and sometimes even the labor laws, is how poorly they work. They are impossible to police. It is estimated that of the 8.7 million Blacks living in the "White" areas, some two million are there illegally. The population of Soweto, officially 904,000, is thought to be larger than that by half.

The number of violations of the pass laws, 250,000 last year, is almost half the annual average of several years ago, partly because enforcement and prosecution is such an expensive and sensitive matter.

The segregation laws do work effectively, and they are rigidly enforced in schools, hospitals, sports facilities, movie theaters, bars, restaurants, beaches, public washrooms, buses, taxis and trains. Although thousands of Black workers stream into Johannesburg by train every morning and occupy the city until it turns White again at dusk, there are fewer than 30 eating houses and 161 public toilets open to them in the central city.

The inconvenience and humiliation this causes are commonly voiced. Said one Soweto resident: "If I'm caught short in some parts of Johannesburg, I still have to relieve myself up a lane or at the back of a building. There's nowhere I can go to suit my pocket for a cup of coffee or a meal in pleasant surroundings."

"Where do I eat?" another demanded of a reporter from the *Rand Daily Mail*. "In one of those disgusting Bantu eating houses run by a White who is likely to insult me in broken English and call me a bloody Kaffir? Ever been to a Black cinema? Don't. Some of them show films so old it's a wonder they're not curled at the edges."

Segregation is so implanted in the minds of many people — Black and White — that sometimes it extends beyond the law. Several months ago, the White and non-White signs were taken off the elevators in an ancient medical building here, but the Black attendant insisted on enforcing "lift apartheid" on his own.

Now, a taxi fleet owner is pressing a campaign to employ Black drivers. The government has said he is perfectly free to do so, but none of the applicants he has sent to the city's licensing department has passed the tests.

An interracial couple wanted to get married and sought to escape from the country's mixed marriages laws, which expressly forbids any such union. They migrated to the Transkei, a homeland that was given its independence last year and is now nominally Black-ruled, and discovered that the prohibition exists there too. □

# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

## MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

### WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

**1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.**

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

**2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.**

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

**3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.**

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

**4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.**

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

**5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

**6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.**

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

**7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.**

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

**8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.**

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

**9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.**

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

**10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.**

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, when ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

BID FOR KRUGER TESTIMONY DISMISSED

# COVER-UP CHARGED IN STEVE BIKO MURDER





*The murder of STEVE BIKO (inset) and the subsequent repression meted out to his supporters has escalated the struggle against South Africa's Vorster regime.*

(Pretoria, South Africa) - Demanding that "Justice and Police Minister" James Kruger be called to testify at the inquest of Steve Biko, an attorney for the Azanian activist's family last week charged that the South African security police had organized a cover-up of the Black martyr's September 12 murder.

In other developments last week, an 18-year-old Black student activist allegedly hung himself to death in a jail cell some 30 miles outside of Johannesburg. He was the twenty-second Azanian to die in detention in South Africa in the last 18 months.

Citing Kruger's initial announcement that the 30-year-old Biko died as the result of a hunger strike — an outright lie later disputed by police officials — Sydney W. Kentridge, a prominent White lawyer representing the Biko family at the inquest, maintained that there are too many discrepancies in how Biko sustained the severe brain damage that killed him.

In two days of questioning stretching over six hours, Kentridge intensely cross-examined a visibly uncomfortable White police officer, Colonel Piet Goosen head of security police in Port Elizabeth. During his confinement there, Biko was kept naked, chained and handcuffed until hours before his death.

Kentridge tersely said to Goosen:

"...The story of the hunger strike was obviously an excuse and a cover-up. How high did the cover-up go?"

"...Who lies and why? If the security police give a false account, it can only be because they have something very serious to hide," Kentridge suggested.

Goosen, sweating profusely in the stifingly hot courtroom, did not answer.

Kentridge's pointed charge of a cover-up also upset the presiding judge in the inquest, magistrate Martinus J. Prins. As he questioned Kentridge concerning Kruger's statement on Biko's alleged hunger strike, Prins repeatedly sipped water and removed and replaced his glasses, the *New York Times* reports.

As expected, the chief Pretoria magistrate denied Kentridge's motion that Kruger be called to testify. Prins also refused to allow into evidence the "justice ministers" statements to reporters about Biko's death.

Kentridge and Goosen clashed angrily throughout the police colonel's cross-examination. Goosen, attempting to smear the reputation of the much respected Biko, claimed that the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) had become a martyr in death but would have been discredited had he lived to go on trial.

"Our plan was to expose him in court for what he was, a dangerous terrorist leader in South Africa," Goosen said — drawing loud mutters of disapproval from the predominantly Black crowd in the inquest hearing room.

Kentridge then asked, "So you lost a chance to expose and discredit Biko in court?"

"Yes," Goosen replied.

"His death doesn't seem to have stopped you and your subordinates from doing so in this court," Kentridge snapped.

When the White attorney asked him why Biko had been denied the usual prisoner privilege of one hour's exercise outdoors daily, Goosen said that it was his duty to prevent Biko

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"VERDICT: SUICIDE"

## Detention Murders Mount In South Africa

(Pretoria, South Africa) - Steve Biko is one of a long line of Black political activists whom the South African government alleges committed "suicide" while in detention. While the White apartheid regime has publicly disclosed 21 such deaths since March, 1976, this figure is believed to be considerably low.

The first such "suicide" verdict was recorded almost 15 years ago, the *London Times* reports.

Solwandle Ngudle, an alleged activist, was reported to have hung himself with his pajama cord. He was buried before his family could see the body, and the inquest was repeatedly adjourned.

Once the inquest did take place, however, the presiding magistrate refused to admit testimony that Ngudle had been severely tortured. After another adjournment, another magistrate testified who visited Ngudle in jail. The day before he died, Ngudle complained to the magis-

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*Rebel forces in the Philippines, led by the MNLF and the New People's Army, are making rapid advances in the war against the Marcos regime.*

# PEOPLE'S FORCES ADVANCE IN PHILIPPINES

(Manila, Philippines) - The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), which is leading a "successionist war" against the repressive regime of President Ferdinand Marcos, has made great advances in recent months in its struggle to set up an *autonomous government in 13 predominately Moslem provinces* in the southern Philippines.

Marcos' "New Society" is nearly bankrupt and sinking toward disaster, reports Tom Weber, a foreign correspondent for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, as the MNLF, combined with the New People's Army, consistently keep the regime off-balance and confused.

The Philippines contain 7,106 islands, with 44 million peple who have been bled, enslaved, abused and outraged by 400 years of colonial rule and internal corruption.

Marcos took office in 1966, and declared martial law in 1972.

Many of the Moslem refugees who have been forced to leave the Philippines when their homes were burned or bombed out by government search and destroy missions were MNLF sympathizers. The refugee figure is placed at more than two million. An accurate count is impossible.

Many refugees have taken sanctuary in remote rain forests. Others have gone to Malaysia. They crowd the beaches, living in filth and abject poverty. MNLF military training camps have been set up in the refugee camps.

After downplaying the casualty figures for years, Marcos admitted earlier this month that as many as 50,000 civilians have been killed in the last five years of fighting in the south. But that is probably a conservative estimate.

It is no longer a secret that the government in 1973 lost most of its graduating class from the Philippine Military Academy. The MNLF wiped them out, along *with between 10,000 and 20,000* military regulars.

In its desperation to stop the increase of MNLF strength and support on the southern islands of Mindanao, Jolo, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, and Palawan, the pro-Western Manila government has thrown every available man and piece of equipment into the fight.

There has been a methodical military effort to clean out the popular liberation forces since 1973, when the government committed an estimated 50 per cent of its total military capability. Today the government is using nearly 60 per cent of its total military force, and it cannot quell the uprising, reports the *Chronicle*.

In addition to the MNLF forces fighting for political autonomy in the south, the New People's Army (NPA) is fighting for the revolutionary overthrow of the Marcos regime. They both have infiltrated the cities and control much of the countryside (see map above).

A Moslem school teacher, describing the abuses suffered at the hands of Marcos' troops, said:

"Here we live every day with the fear of death since the Spaniard. To kill the Moslem is the history of my country.

"This is very good land, so Manila sends many Christian settlers. They came to steal our good farm lands. If we did not leave our homes when they said to go, they killed us.

"It is not so much better with the soldiers from Manila. They rampage. They rape and kill..."

The Islamic Conference is *observing a cease-fire agreed to* by both sides last December in Tripoli, Libya. The agreement gave the MNLF autonomy over 13 provinces.

**RENEGED**

Marcos reneged on the agreement. The southern provinces are the wealthiest and most productive in the Philippines, with rice, minerals, rubber, coconuts, bananas, pineapples and oil.

Marcos called a plebiscite in the 13 provinces on the issue of autonomy. The Moros boycotted the polls and autonomy was rejected. Officially, a cease-fire exists until a new peace agreement is reached.

According to a government agent who once worked as a mercenary for U.S.intelligence in Vietnam, both Zamboanga City and Davao City, on Mindanao Island, have been infiltrated and heavily armed liberation forces are concentrated within 25 to 30 miles of both cities.

Regarding the influence of the NPA, a leader of the group said, today, "We have guerrilla units from Luzon to Mindanao." She talked in terms of "battalions." The activist said that the NPA is establishing people's militias in the depressed rural areas of Luzon, Samar, Lloilo and Negros, and that they are concentrating their recruiting on the rural

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## Africa In Focus

### Cuba

(Washington, D.C.) - The Carter administration last week threatened to break off normalization of relations with Cuba because of the alleged presence of some 27,000 Cuban military and civilian advisers in 16 African countries. State Department spokesperson Hodding Carter III said that a new National Security Council (NSC) study showed that Cuba recently increased its military troops in Angola by 20 per cent, raising the overall Cuban presence in the former Portuguese colony to 23,000. The NSC study showed that there are 700 Cubans in Ethiopia, between 350 to 500 in Tanzania, 650 to 750 in Mozambique, 300 to 500 in Guinea and 100 to 200 in Guinea-Bissau.

### Tanzania

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - Tanzanians recently elected a new national leadership at the first National Conference of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM — "Party of the Revolution"). Nearly 1,500 delegates from throughout Tanzania, the majority of them peasants, attended the conference, *Africa News* reports. A National Executive Committee for the CCM, composed of 40 people, was elected which, in turn, selected 30 persons for the Central Committee — the CCM body that supervises the implementation of party policy. The CCM, established last February, is a union of the Afro-Shirazi Party which formerly governed the island of Zanzibar, and the Tanganyika African National Union, which ruled mainland Tanzania.

### Namibia

(Rome, Italy) - The territory of Namibia last week became a member of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the first time that a U.N. agency granted the status of a nation to a territory that is non-self-governing. Namibia, where the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) is waging an armed liberation struggle for Black majority rule, is illegally ruled by South Africa.

# SENSE OF DISCIPLINE, FREEDOM SINKS DEEP IN PEOPLE'S MOZAMBIQUE





*Mozambican people building their home with materials provided by the government. Mozambican sugar (right) is shipped out of country to North America.*

(Maputo, Mozambique)- In slightly more than two years of independence, this Marxist state seems to have succeeded where so many developing African nations have failed: creating a sense of discipline without outwardly turning the country into an armed camp.

No one here contends that a social paradise has been attained or that such a prospect is imminent. Certainly the revolution here has encountered enormous problems involving shortages of skilled manpower, goods and capital.

Bordered by both Rhodesia and South Africa, Mozambique has real enemies close at hand. Still, there is a widespread confidence that rests on national mobilization and self-sacrifice, the *New York Times* reports.

Recently, for example, this large modern capital city was pummeled by a bizarre hailstorm. The early summer torpor of coastal southern Africa suddenly broke and cold, fierce winds whistled while balls of ice the size of lemons and tangerines fell in a barrage that killed four people and hospitalized hundreds.

Half an hour after the storm began it was over, and half an hour after that groups of citizens were in the streets sweeping up the glass and fallen tree limbs and building barricades around downed electric wires. There were teams of neighbors, of high school students, of factory workers.

The next day workers in industrial plants and commercial offices began donating a day's wages for a reconstruction fund. Within two days the debris had disappeared.

A young Mozambican, proud of the city's response, was drinking coffee at a local hotel.

"In two years of independence," he said, "we have had everything — floods, hail, an outbreak of bubonic plague and Rhodesian invasions. All that is missing is rivers of blood and the slaughter of the firstborn. But if these come we can handle them also."

The government's approach to political dissent and personal freedom is governed by a paramount need for discipline. Members of FRELIMO, the only party, which led the 10-year war against Portugal, insist, however, that free debate and discussions are encouraged at party meetings.

Despite its difficulties, the government of Mozambique appears to have united the people. In the deepest bush men and women salute visitors with the raised arm gesture of FRELIMO. Clearly these country people were proclaiming, "I am Mozambican," a show of national identity that is rare on a tribally fragmented continent.

On the banks of rivers, in addition to the usual team of women washing clothes, there were men washing clothes. Such activity seems to stem from government educational campaigns against polygamy and other cultural forms of male dominance.

At a small communal village a 12-year-old boy with two years of schooling stood before a blackboard teaching 45 elders, men and women, to read.

At another new settlement residents showed off the neat four-room adobe and thatch houses they had built cooperatively in neat rows. Proudly they pointed to the outhouses behind each house, saying that the government had showed them how to build them and why they were needed.

In another region a team of

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# Arabs Protest Sadat Visit To Israel

(Jerusalem, Israel) - Disregarding outrage and vehement protest from the Arab world and his own government, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat made an unprecedented visit to Israel and presented his views to its parliament on a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict.

Sadat told the Israeli Knesset that a lasting peace in the Middle East depends onIsraeli withdrawal from occupied Arab land, and recognition of the rights of the Palestinians.

The embattled Arab leader pledged to his Jewish audience that a peace settlement would include the recognition of Israel's right to exist within secure boundaries: "...We welcome you among us with all security and safety," the Egyptian president said, as millions of Arabs listened in stunned silence to live broadcasts of his speech.

Sadat went on to say that Israel has "to give up once and for all the dreams of conquest and to give up the belief that force is the best method in dealing with the Arabs."



*ANWAR SADAT (standing) greets MENAHEM BEGIN.*

A major ommission by Sadat was any reference to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in his discussion of the Palestinians. Israel refuses to recognize the PLO and has threatened to boycott the Geneva peace talks if the group is formally represented.

Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin replied testily in his speech that "we do not believe in might and we have never put our trust in might in dealing with an Arab country." Begin totally rejected the return of all the territories occupied in the 1967 war and ignored the Palestinian issue entirely.

The head of the ruling rightwing Likud Party tried to draw Sadat into considering bilateral peace arrangements — between Israel and Egypt exclusively — which Sadat had promised other Arab leaders he would avoid. Begin proposed that other Arab leaders — King Hussein of Jordan, President Hafez Assad of Syria and President Elias Sarkis of Lebanon — follow Sadat's example and come for talks with Israel themselves.

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# B.P.P. Supporter

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

criminal case but a political one — an attempt to frame a man for his political beliefs and activities.

"Moreover, the prosecutor's insistence on requiring me to testify personally when the information he sought was readily available publicly and independently confirmed my feelings that he was not acting in good faith, and strengthened my resolve to resist this abuse of power. For these reasons, both my conscience and my respect for the legitimate functioning of the criminal justice system, led me to choose not to participate.

"Allegations that I bought firearms which can be linked to criminal activity are untrue. I am unaware of any case in which a gun purchased by me was used as a gun in any crime. The guns I purchased were bought for certain members of the Black Panther Party for the specific purpose of self-protection in their homes because their lives had been threatened by heroin dealers who were unhappy about the Party's campaign against the flow of heroin into the Black community.

"These threats culminated in a $10,000 contract being placed on *Huey Newton's life by heroin* dealers in the Oakland area. The existence of this contract was confirmed by former Oakland Police Chief Charles Gain in a taped telephone conversation with attorney Charles Garry on September 13, 1973.

"There is nothing improper and certainly nothing criminal in my having purchased these weapons for the self-protection of friends and co-workers but because my



BPNS photo

*Attorney DORON WEINBERG with BPP supporter MOLLY DOUGHERTY.*

friends and co-workers happen to be Black people and specifically members of the Black Panther Party.

"I have no doubt that most if not all of my accusers have purchased numbers of guns and have even done so in order to give them to family members and friends. The attempt to convert my conduct into alleged criminal behavior is part of the current vendetta against the Black Panther Party, a vendetta which is clearly not limited to the Party itself but extends to its supporters."

Unwilling to make a decision at the time, the Board of Supervisors voted to refer the matter to the CORPUS Board itself, which was meeting the next day, for recommendation.

The next day, however, the CORPUS Board ducked the issue, voting on a motion by Chief Plummer to refer it back to the supervisors.

In a statement issued after the vote this past Tuesday, November 29, Ms. Dougherty commented:

"In addition to what I said last week, I feel that the Board of Supervisors overreacted in removing me from the CORPUS Committee. This was apparently due to threats from the police chiefs to withdraw from CORPUS if I were not removed from the Committee.

"I regret that the police chiefs in this county feel that they cannot work on committees with people of political viewpoints radically different from their own. I will continue to express my concern about the use, and potential for misuse, of computers in the criminal justice system."☐

# World Scope

## United States

(Washington, D.C.) - After years of bitter negotiations, the U.S. has all but scuttled the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference (LOS). This clears some of the way for U.S. multinational corporations to monopolize the vast mineral resources buried on the ocean floor. The probably lethal blow to the still continuing, eight-year-old conference came last month when the Carter administration threw its support behind legislation that unilaterally allocates large tracts of the mineral-rich deep seabed to U.S. mining companies. Billions of dollars are at stake in the extraction of potato-sized nodules from the sea floor that can be processed into manganese, copper, cobalt and nickel. The future of these precious rocks — as well as sharp contention over off-shore oil, fishing rights, ocean transit and a host of other marine issues — led the U.N. to convene the LOS in an attempt to determine who "owns" the world's oceans and how their riches should be divided.

With some of the most powerful corporations in the Western world having already invested tens of millions in sea mining, the issue has become a jingoistic rallying cry for U.S. big business and right-wing forces. The American Mining Congress, the industry lobbying group, launched a heavily bank-rolled campaign aimed at convincing legislators that the LOS was an attempt by the Third World to cartelize vital raw materials, control output, boost prices and threaten the U.S.'s national security.

## Haiti

(Washington, D.C.) - After five years of fighting the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), 147 Haitians won a reprieve recently when the agency agreed to allow them asylum hearings. The Haitians, who all traveled to the U.S. during 1972 and 1973 to escape the fascist rule of Jean-Claude Duvalier, have been fighting for the right to apply for political asylum in the U.S.

# PAUL ROBESON'S SON DENOUNCES PLAY AS "AN INSULT"

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - The son of the legendary Black actor/ activist Paul Robeson has strongly criticized James Earl Jones' one-man play on his father's life, calling the drama "an insult... lost in a sea of confusion."

In a letter received by the *Milwaukee Courier* last month, Robeson, Jr. writes,

"I have seen *Paul Robeson*... on many occasions. While the script had undergone a number of changes for each of the performances I attended, it continued to be a fictionalized account and distorted portrayal of Paul Robeson that misrepresents the most important aspects of his life.

**CLASSICS**

"It trivializes the Paul Robeson story," the younger Robeson went on, "and makes the basic character unrecognizable."

Robeson, Jr. was a close associate of his father who served as manager of his affairs and often made personal appearances on his behalf when the elder Robeson was in his last years. Presently he is working with his sister, Marilyn, with the Paul Robeson Archives in New York City.

When the *Courier* attempted to talk to James Earl Jones regarding the stinging criticism leveled at the play, the Black newspaper was told that all questions with regards to the issue would have to be referred to producer Don Gregory.

Robeson's criticisms, which were first published in the *New York Times*, have followed the play's entire pre-Broadway tour. Robeson's comments have received extensive coverage in the Philadelphia Black press, where the Black scholar, athlete and organizer was living in seclusion at the time of his death in February, 1975.

Robeson, Jr. stresses that, "This production whittles down the giant stature of Paul Robeson to such an extent that he is made to resemble the false image that has been created by the White establishment.

"His powerful message to all oppressed people and Black Americans in particular," says Robeson, Jr. "is diffused and lost in a mass of confusion."

Paul Robeson, due to his performances of such classics as *Othello* and *The Emperor Jones*, had risen to become maybe the greatest performing artist, Black or White, of all time. However, due to his firm stands on equality and justice for Black people in the U.S. and oppressed people throughout the world, and to the redbaiting of the McCarthy era, Robeson was "blackballed." His financial situation seriously deteriorated afterwards.

"Anyone who takes the time," says the younger Robeson, "can easily see through the crude commercialization of Paul Robeson's name by reading his own book, *Here I Stand*, listening to his recordings and viewing film on him."

Robeson was one of the first Black people to ever attend Rutgers University, where he was an All-American football player (some say "the greatest end ever to play the game") and an honor student. Robeson went on to obtain a law degree but never practiced, choosing to pursue a career in the theater. Despite a constant struggle against White bigotry and ignorance, Robeson's unparalled acting and singing ability won him international acclaim.

"My father's own words and deeds," he points out, "provide the best criticism of this play which I consider to be an insult to his memory."

In his letter to the *Courier* Robeson enclosed a photocopy of a 1951 position paper from the U.S. consul in Accra, Ghana, entitled "Request for Special Story on Paul Robeson." According to Robeson, the contents of the position paper makes one wonder if this play had not been written to fulfill this request.

The three-page request said in part, "...there's no way the Communists score more easily and effectively, out here, than on the U.S. Negro problem in general, and on the Robeson case in particular...

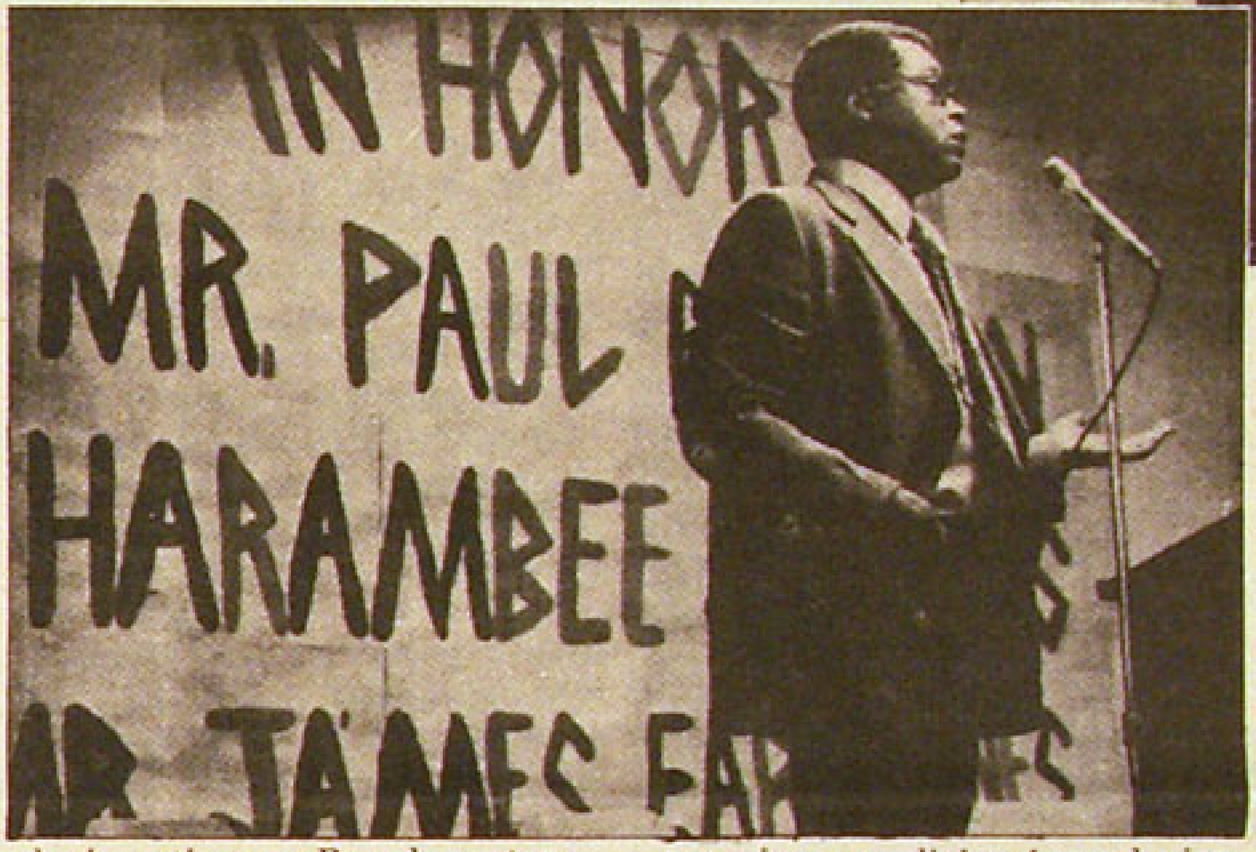
"What we need," the position paper reads, "is the whole Robeson story told sympathetically, preferably by an American Negro, as the tragedy, which it in fact is."

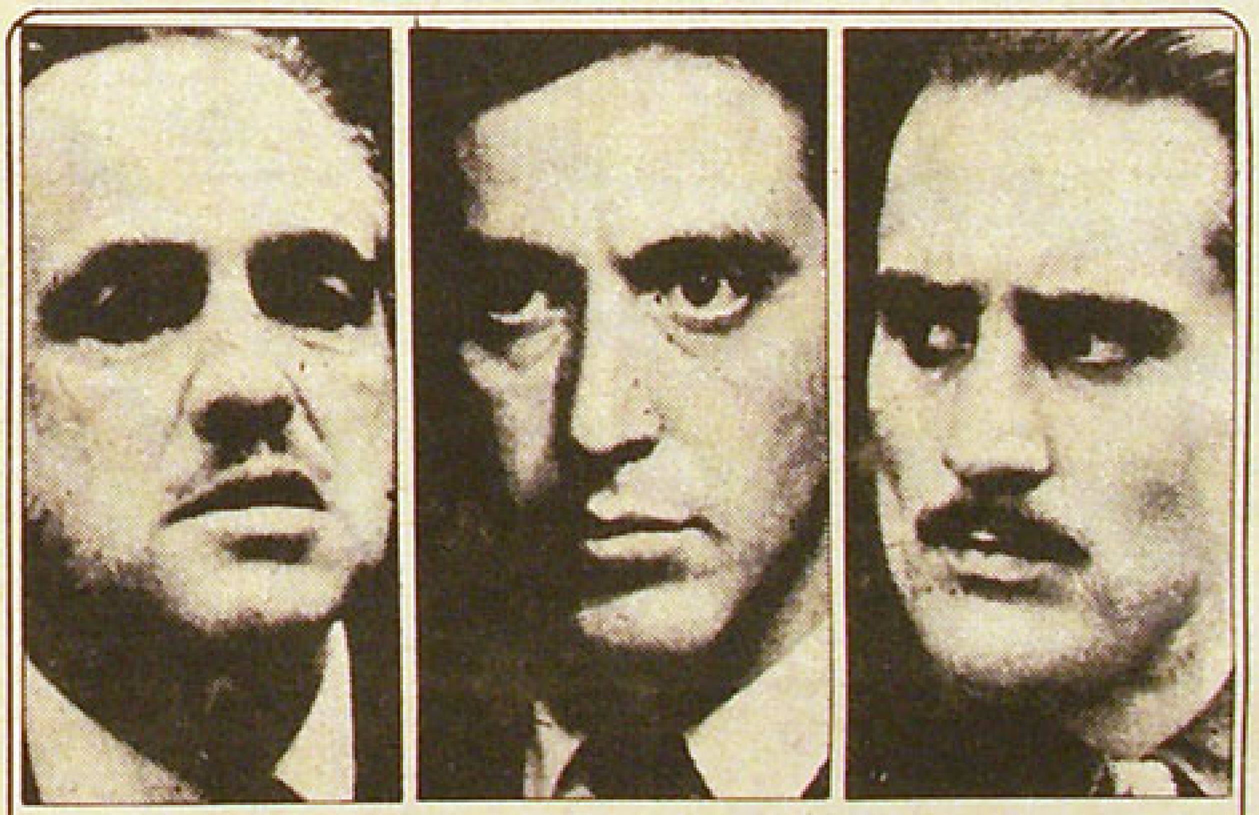
The contradiction between the script of the play, *Paul Robeson* written by Phillip Hayes Dean, and the Robeson family's perspective is "irrevocable," says the *Courier*.

When the play reaches New York, the home of many of Robeson's supporters, protests are expected. The play is expected to open in February, a few days after the second anniversary of the death of one of history's greatest and most militant Black artists.



*PAULROBESON, one of the greatest performing artists of all time and a staunch defender of human rights, is portrayed by JAMES EARL JONES (below) in a one-act play which has been denounced by Robeson's son.*



## 100 Million View "The Godfather"

*(New York, N.Y.) - "The Godfather," the dual film epic deftly reassembled in chronological order to follow the immigrant Corleone family's rise to gangland power and influence last week became the most widely viewed theatrical movie on TV, with estimates that an average of 100 million viewers watched the nine-hour, four-night NBC presentation.*

*Starring MARLON BRANDO, as Don Vito Corleone, AL PACINO, as Michael Corleone, and ROBERT DE NIRO, as the young Vito, "The Godfather" achieved its highest rating for its final chapter on Tuesday night, with a 28.5 rating and 43 share, despite losing the first hour to ABC's "Happy Days" and "Laverne & Shirley."*

# Philippines

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18
workers in Mindanao.

A member of the intelligence community said that Manila has already lost the south, that the MNLF, along with the NPA, has taken over control of large areas in Mindanao, including the province of Bukidnon, which produces grain, corn and cattle, reports the *Chronicle*.

A major military offensive is expected by the MNLF to start within the next few months, according to the *Chronicle* source. Some of the major cities in Mindanao, including Zamboanga and Davao, are probable targets.

About six per cent of the Filipinos (with financial backing of multinational corporations) control 92 per cent of the nation's wealth.

In this country live nearly 30 million hungry, landless serfs and tenant farmers. They stretch from the Sulu Archipelago to northern Luzon. These are the people the liberation forces count on for shelter and support.

In the United States, a community of Filipino expatriates carries on a relentless campaign to overthrow Marcos.

*Dr. Tham Manjoorsa, director of military operations* for the MNLF, said, "the main objective" of the liberation forces "is to have an autonomous government in 13 provinces in the south."

There are 5.5 million Moslems in these provinces. "The Philippine government claims there are only 2.2 million," says Dr. Manjoorsa.

"To us this is statistical genocide," Manjoorsa explains. "There are 5.5 million including the ethnic groups and tribes in our area, that the government considers non-Moslems."

Abturasat Asani, director of the MNLF's foreign office in Tripoli, explains the current organizing efforts of Nur Misuari, chairman of the MNLF, "Nur Misuari...has a mission abroad to bring the message of the revolutionary MNLF to the people of the world...

"His mission is to establish contacts with different forums of the world like the Islamic Conference and other forums to establish bilateral contact with possible supporters of our political movement." Asani said that the inhabitants of the southern provinces do not consider themselves Filipino. "The resolution of the Islamic Conference called for a political solution within the framework of the territorial integrity of the Phillipines, and therefore the MNLF agreed to tone down its demand for complete political independence and secession to political autonomy.

That was one of the major compromises that MNLF made to show that it wants to resolve the problem.

Since Marcos has broken the Tripoli Agreement, Asani says, "Members of the Islamic Conference have called upon us to negotiate with the Philippine government..."

"...We are trying to develop a mass base among the people," says Manjoorsa. "To build an army and save our ammunitions for a war of just struggle."

Commenting on Marcos' "New Society" reform program, Asani declares, "The 'New Society' of President Marcos has broken one kind of oligarchy and built another...he has not only built another but has turned it into a dictatorship, that controls not only the people themselves but also the wealth of the nation without respect for the democratic rights of the Filipino people."□



*Moslem village in the Philippines.*

# Cover-up Charges In Steve Biko Murder

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17
from communicating with anyone outside.

Prior to Goosen, Captain Daniel Siebert, another of Biko's interrogators, testified that the Azanian was placed naked and unconscious in the back of a police land rover and driven 750 miles from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria for medical treatment on the night of September 11.

When Kentridge asked why an ambulance was not arranged for the long journey, Siebert said attempts were made to secure an airplane, but none was available.

Like Goosen, Siebert alleged that nothing was physically wrong with Biko and that he had feigned illness in order to escape.

Two physicians who examined Biko in Port Elizabeth testified that police refused to allow them to hospitalize the BCM leader. "We were told 'under no circumstances' could he be hospitalized," Dr. Ivor Lang said.

Meanwhile, the *Rand Daily Mail* in Johannesburg reported that Sipho Malaza, 18, died in a Krugersdorp jail last week. Mrs. Gertrude Malaza said police told her that her son hanged himself.

Malaza was arrested in December last year and charged with public violence. He was acquitted at his trial but was re-arrested in July and held without charges.□



*NTSIKIE BIKO, wife of slain Black activist Steve Biko, with lawyer SYDNEY W. KENTRIDGE.*

# INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

## Mexico

(Eagle Pass, Tex.) - An "undocumented" worker who is being detained at the Maverick County Jail here is fighting deportation at the end of the year to Mexico, where supporters say he faces certain torture or death. In Mexico, Hector Marroquin Manriques, a 24-year-old student activist, faces frame-up charges of murder, assault and conspiracy. He is accused of being a member of the leftist Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre, some of whose members face similar charges. The New York-based U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, which is mobilizing support for Manriques' request for political asylum, is urging that telegrams or letters of support be sent to Director of Immigration and Naturalization Service Leonel Castillo.

## El Salvador

(San Salvador, El Salvador) - Over 1,500 demonstrators demanding pay increases for farm workers held two cabinet ministers and at least 150 other hostages after seizing the Labor Ministry building last week. Labor Minister Roberto Escobar Garcia and Economic Minister Roberto Ortiz Avalos and the others were taken hostage when the ministry was taken over by the protesters who had been demonstrating in front. The workers are demanding that the government raise the minimum wage for farm laborers from $2.40 to $4.50 per day.

## Argentina

(Buenos Aires, Argentina) - Secretary of State Cyrus R. vance arrived here last week on the first stop of a three-nation tour. Vance will present a list of 7,500 persons who have vanished or have been jailed for political reasons by Argentina's military regime to government authorities. The secretary is on a four-day South American tour that will also include visits to Brazil and Venezuela.

**DOUG WILLIAMS, HEISMAN TROPHY CANDIDATE**

# GRAMBLING UNIVERSITY QUARTERBACK SHATTERING NATIONAL RECORDS

(Grambling, La.) - Grambling State University's star quarterback Doug Williams leads the nation in both touchdown passes and total yardage, and has a chance to become the first player from a Black college to win the Heisman Trophy.

His career figures are even more awesome. He has already tossed more touchdowns (84) than any college quarterback in history and is close to breaking the yardage record, *Newsweek* magazine reports.

Many think Williams will be the No. 1 draft pick of a pro team. "Doug is in a better position than any other quarterback I ever had because he's broken national records," says Eddie Robinson, longtime coach of the Louisiana school, which has sent 160 players into the pro ranks.

One of eight children, Williams was raised in Zachary, Louisiana, a town so small, he says, "You couldn't go stand on the corner because there was only one road running straight through."

In high school, Williams excelled in baseball and basketball, but only four colleges offered him football scholarships.

As a Grambling freshman, he was redshirted, giving him an extra season of eligibility, and he took over the starting job five games into his sophomore year.

The pro scouts, who not only admire his power and pinpoint control, are also impressed by his intelligence and leadership. Ken Herock, personnel director of the Tampa Bay Buccaneers, puts it flatly: "He's the best Black quarterback to ever come out of college."

Williams isn't interested in being a wide receiver or a defensive back, positions the pros traditionally assign to Black college quarterbacks.

"The only thing I hate about it is the label," he says. "In high school, you're called a quarterback. In college, you're called a quarterback. But as soon as you go to the pros, you're a Black quarterback. Call me a quarterback, period."

The 22-year-old Grambling quarterback stands 6' 4", weighs 214 pounds, and runs 40 yards in 4.8 seconds.

Primarily because of Williams' right arm, which has accounted for 1,859 yards and 21 touchdowns in the first six games, Grambling is in first place in the Southwestern Athletic Conference. The school is certain to have its 18th straight winning season, and it has made an exceptional debut as a National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I team.

One-third of Williams' touchdown throws have covered 47 yards. He has thrown at least one touchdown pass in every game but one that he has started for Grambling and has already shattered the state records set by the Steelers' Terry Bradshaw and the Grambling marks of the Chargers' James Harris.



*Grambling University's star quarterback DOUG WILLIAMS.*



Because of his experience and intelligence, Williams, an honor student, is virtually a player-coach for the Tigers, many of whom he directs in drills and game warm-ups.

"In 1974," Williams says, "*when Walter Payton was a senior, somebody mentioned him* as a Heisman possibility..." A lot of people "looked at it as a joke," he said. "But since Walter's been in the NFL, it is no longer a joke. If I win it (the Heisman), I think it will make Payton happy. I hope so."□



## O.C.L.C. Wins Again

*(Oakland, Calif.) - In competition last weekend the Oakland Community Learning Center Martial Arts Team swept through both the National Martial Arts Championship at the Oakland Auditorium and the San Francisco County Championships at Riordan High, dominating the lightweight and middleweight black belt division.*

*Trophy winners were (left to right) BOBBY LEE, TAMAR BROWN, HERBERT HALL, DANNY SIMS, DANETTE WALLACE, TARAY GREEN and LISA WILLIAMS.*

BPINS photo

## Payton Breaks O.J.'s Record



*(Chicago, Ill.) - Walter "Sweetness" Payton gained 275 yards in 40 attempts last week in the greatest running performance in National Football League (NFL) history.*

*Payton, who scored the Chicago Bears' only touchdown on a one-yard plunge, led his club to a 10-7 triumph over the Minnesota Vikings.*

*The Bears' flashy halfback said before last week's game he "felt weak and had hot and cold flashes. I didn't think I could put on a Walter Payton performance when I left the dressing room for the game."*

*Payton rushed for 144 yards in 26 carries in the first half, his best performance ever. Then he put himself in position to break O.J. Simpson's previous record of 273 yards when he dashed 58 yards to the Minnesota nine with less than three minutes to play in the game. The run gave him 268 yards in 38 carries. He picked up seven more yards on two more carries to break Simpson's rushing mark.*

*Payton boosted his league leading rushing total to 1,404 yards for 10 games.*

# Mozambican

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

paramedics was inoculating the population against smallpox, tetanus and tuberculosis. They were part of a campaign that began a year ago in which such teams set out at the northern border with Tanzania intending to work their way south, vaccinating everyone.

So far, the Ministry of Health reports, more than three million of the population of 10 million have been treated.

Everywhere there were meetings — of peasants on state farms, of women, of schoolchildren, many of them to discuss the elections for village and district assemblies.

As singular as all this was, what was even more striking to a visitor was the absence of men in uniform or men with guns. As in the case of the Maputo cleanup, the efforts in the countryside appeared to stem from pride and not coercion.

A sign painted on many schools and public buildings throughout the country says, "Let us turn our whole nation into a school where we can learn from each other." So far, at least, the sentiment seems more than rhetoric.

In neighboring Rhodesia it has long been an article of faith among many White leaders that any transition to majority or Black rule will inevitably lead to a White exodus that, in turn, will signal a speedy collapse of the country's complex technological structure.



*FRELIMO officials leading village meeting.*

Here in Mozambique, despite the departure of 250,000 Portuguese settlers — the people who ran industry, the civil service and the large plantations — nothing so drastic has happened. Phones, railroads and airlines work.

There are many problems of distribution and cars and trucks are sorely needed, but there is no apparent hunger and the periodic shortages of things like beer and canned goods — hardly necessities for most of the rural population — are no worse than in many African states that have been independent for years.

Discussing the more negative side of the ledger, Joaquim Brum, director of the Ministry of Economic Planning, concedes that there are awesome difficulties as the country embarks on a socialist course.

With 70 per cent of the population under age 18 and with illiteracy estimated at more than 90 per cent, there is an overwhelming need for skilled people, not just doctors and engineers but mechanics who can repair motors and people who can drive cars.

### FIRST PRIORITY

The filling of such needs is the first priority of the government, and its first move was to nationalize education, which under the Portuguese was private and largely reserved for the children of settlers.

Even though there are few teachers, primary education is obligatory and a school is often administered by a teenager, with higher-grade pupils teaching lower grades.

Another difficulty is that the Portuguese left behind them a highly capitalized and developed economic structure that is largely irrelevant to the needs of the people. There are factories that produce perfumes, but there are not enough textile plants and many people in the countryside wear rags.

There are good roads that were built to encourage Portuguese immigration, and Maputo shares with Abidjan, in the Ivory Coast, the distinction of being the most modern and built-up cities in Black Africa. But this creates problems.

"We have a building here that was almost completed before independence," said Brum. "It has 35 stories of luxury flats of 10 rooms each. What are we going to do with it?

"Now if we don't complete the building it will be lost and ruined. If we do it will use capital that should go for clinics, schools, housing."

On the other hand, as Brum noted, some of the inherited investment could become useful eventually and there is an obligation to protect these things simply because they are here.

"At the basis of all our economic and social plans is discipline," said Brum.

The development of this unity stems from the singular liberation struggle waged by the FRELIMO guerrillas for 11 years against a force of 70,000 Portuguese. FRELIMO was able to fuse disparate nationalist elements within a single command and evolve an ideology and program that went beyond mere independence.

Through women's groups, youth movements and worker meetings the ideas of FRELIMO were implanted. It was not enough to end colonial control. What was necessary was to use armed struggle as a mechanism with which to change the consciousness of the people.

The struggle, the leaders repeated, was not against Whites, for racism and tribalism are divisive and Black racism should not be the answer to White racism.

President Samora Machel, who was a hospital orderly when he became one of the original fighters, often says it is a pity that the coup in Portugal came when it did in 1974, for had the war continued the entire country might have been transformed sooner.

"Armed struggle," he said, "is a wonderful university."

When the colonial administration withdrew, in any case, a FRELIMO government with a defined program already existed.

A Western diplomat commented, "About the worst you can say is that there is gentle authoritarianism."□

# Detention Murders Mount In South Africa

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

trate of being severely beaten and was still coughing up blood.

Verdict: Suicide.

As the number of "suicides" increased, the apartheid regime made some half-hearted attempts to explain them.

In October, 1971, a young Indian named Ahmed Timol allegedly fell to his death from the tenth floor of Johannesburg police headquarters. Then deputy chief of the security police, Brigadier Piet Kruger, offered the bizarre explanation that Timol's death was deliberately plotted "to make him a hero of communism...

"We who know communists know that when they plan to use violence they make their people swear an oath to commit suicide rather than to mention the names of their comrades. They are taught to jump out of a window before they are interrogated," Kruger claimed.

The window through which Timol "fell" was heavily barred.

Verdict: Suicide.

Just a week after Biko died, a coroner's court in Johannesburg began an inquiry into the death of Naboath Ntshuntsha, a 40-year-old doctor from Soweto.

Seized by security police last December, nothing was heard of Ntshuntsha for almost a month. On January 9 of this year, his family was told he had hung himself in his cell.

Throughout his confinement, neither Ntshuntsha's family, lawyer nor doctor were given his whereabouts. When he died, the police refused for two weeks to turn the body over to his family.

### HEAVY FIRE

Finally, "Minister of Police and Justice" James Kruger under heavy fire for bungling Biko's death, disclosed that some "unauthorized" incisions had been made on Ntshuntsha's corpse in the police morgue.

An independent pathologist retained by the Soweto doctor's family who finally saw the body refused to participate in the autopsy report. He explained that the "unauthorized incisions, including one from the throat to the groin and another from ear to ear across the top of the skull, were "contrary to all recognized practice in mortuaries and infinitely more so in the case of an unnatural death."

As a result of the incisions, the detailed examination of the throat and neck, necessary to establish death by hanging, could not be carried out.

Almost nine months after Ntshuntsha's "suicide," the inquest into his death began. A well-known pathologist testified that he had found numerous marks on the corpse. He said he believed that cuts and bruises on the neck and both ears were the result of "impression contact," but there was insufficient evidence to be certain they had been caused by electric shocks.

On October 6, by which time the Soweto physician's widow had been detained, the inquest verdict was rendered: Suicide.□

# Sadat Visit

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

The highly-respected Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy, who was to have accompanied Sadat on his visit, resigned after failing to convince the Egyptian head of state to cancel his trip. "...President Sadat's visit will inevitably have serious repercussions on domestic, Arab and international levels," the cabinet member was quoted as saying by the Kuwait newspaper *Al Watan*

Egypt's No. 2 ranking diplomat, Mohammed Riad, was named to succeed Fahmy, but hours later he resigned. Sadat then named Butros Ghali, a Coptic Christian whose wife is of Jewish descent, as acting foreign minister.

Egypt is officially in a state of war with Israel, and prior to Sadat's visit had never formally recognized the existence of the Zionist republic.

A bomb exploded in the Amman, Jordon, offices of the Egyptian national airline, Egyptair, after Sadat's speech, causing extensive damage but no injuries, police said. The majority of Jordan's population is of Palestinian origin.

Egyptian newspapers, under banner headlines, called Sadat's welcome in Jerusalem "thunderous" and "tumultuous" but it ignored protests in Egypt and other Arab countries.

Police in Cairo broke up a sit-in demonstration by 400 Palestinian students protesting Sadat's visit. Many of the protesters were injured and 10 arrests were made.

### STATE-RUN RADIO

Syria's state-run Damascus radio broadcast every few minutes an appeal by the Saiqa Palestinian group urging Palestinians in Israel to "demonstrate against the traitor Sadat and transform the Zionist holiday over his visit into a funeral."

Syria declared an official day of mourning on Saturday, November 19, the day Sadat addressed the Israeli Knesset.

Prior to his visit, Sadat flew to Damascus to try to persuade Assad to support the trip to Israel. Assad rejected Sadat's plea saying the visit was "very dangerous to the Arab cause."

The PLO called for a top-level conference of Arab nations to "impose the harshest sanctions against Sadat and isolate his regime."

Iraq, Libya, Algeria and South Yemen also denounced Sadat's visit. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have remained silent. Sudan, Morocco and Oman endorsed the trip.☐

# Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

### REMEMBER JIM CROW

Dear Editor,

Respectfully, I address this open letter to society and all concerned.

Mass multiple problems exist in this giant ball of confusion called earth — natural gas and oil shortages, inflation, unemployment, affirmative action, child abuse, race relations, equal rights, crime, etc.

I will focus on one point, exposing just one of the mass multiple problems — the Indiana State Reformatory.

The older people, and maybe the not so young, remember the dead legacy of the "Jim Crow Laws." Well today, right now, the legacy of "Jim Crow" is alive, very much alive and active. Yes, right here behind the walls of the Indiana State Reformatory (prison).

It doesn't take a genius in order to see what time it is; it's transparent as glass, you can see right through it.

They are trying to keep my mouth shut and break my spirit. But their tricks fail and here I am again writing and still as strong as ever.

Just the other day an inmate was taken to isolation and beaten. This unusual punishment is not unusual behind the walls of the Indiana State Reformatory. Punishment of this nature is perpetrated against prison inmates frequently.

Society's less fortunate members — the poor and the ignorant — make up the majority of the prison inmate populaion. They were human beings before they became prisoners and are still human beings after they become prisoners — not "wild animals."

Just to think of being looked upon as an animal in the zoo whenever you receive a visit is a very serious problem, and to be treated as such is even worse.

No one is concerned until it happens to them. Oh, don't say it can't, because it can. You don't have to do anything; all it takes is for someone to say you did, and you're subjected to the same treatment that I along wih hundreds of other prison inmates have.

Oh, yes it concerns you (society), it concerns you too,

In gratitude, a prisoner,
Azania (Rufus Everhart) #4969
P.O. Box 28
Pendleton, Indiana 46064

### "THE BLACK PANTHER" COMPLIMENTED

Dear Comrades:

I am compelled to write this letter to compliment you on your continuing effort to educate the American Community on news relevant to the African liberation struggle. I have been reading the Black Panther newspaper since its inception and introduction to the streets of Chicago by the members of the Party here. It is still rigorously being sold on the street at State and Madison in downtown Chicago. There is no paper in the Black community that gives the kind of up date and exclusive explanation of the conditions in South Africa as the peoples' paper (The Black Panther News). I have seen with my own eyes, the growth of your paper. I would also like to compliment you for your in depth and continuous analysis of the Bakke case.

The President (Huey P. Newton's) article in Keep Strong magazine was the most revolutionary position I have read to date on the Bakke case. The Party is still the vanguard in the liberation struggle for Black people in America. Don't stop for the struggle continues. JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON.

Sincerely,
Bruce Crosby
Assistant Directory
United Black Voters of Illinois



# Bloody Melee Erupts

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

chained themselves to the Golden Gate Bridge to protest the Shah's visit to Washington.

The Washington and San Francisco anti-Shah demonstrators were nearly all hooded or masked as a precaution against photographs by secret Iranian police agents.

In Lafayette Park, the Washington demonstrators chanted, "Death to the Shah." They carried placards and banners reading, "Carter's Human Rights Means Supporting the Fascist Shah" and a giant paper-doll effigy of the Shah whose arms could be moved by two hands labeled "CIA." Later, that was burned, as were other effigies.

The Iranian government reportedly financed many of the trips and was putting some of the pro-Shah Iranians up in Washington hotels. At one point, a pickup truck with two hooded figures standing with nooses around their necks drove slowly along Pennsylvania Avenue.

A Senate Foreign Relations committee investigation headed by George McGovern of North Dakota is probing allegations that the pro-Shah counter-demonstration was illegally financed by Iran and that government representatives failed to register as foreign agents.

### SERVICEMEN

"We're all servicemen — not students," a member of a pro-Shah group quietly told a reporter cautioning that he would get into trouble if his superior overheard him. He said that he and the rest of his group belonged to the 700-member Iranian Air Force undergoing training at Lackland Air Force Base, near San Antonio, Texas. The Iranian Air Force is totally equipped by the United States.

Another pro-Shah demonstrator said, "The (Iranian) government is paying for everything...I always wanted to see Washington. I hear the government has spent $8 million to bring us all here and put us up."

Anti-Shah student protesters have reported threats of retaliation by the Iranian government, along with loss of scholarships and threats on the lives of their parents and relatives at home in Iran.

Most of the anti-Shah demonstrators were members of the Iranian Students Association (ISA). There are some 30,000 Iranian students in the United States, and the ISA claims 95 per cent as sympathizers.☐

# Sharp Criticism Of C.E.T.A.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Oakland's residents live in poverty as defined by federal guidelines, Wilson said, while the city maintains 25,000 units of substandard but occupied housing. Oakland was also the first city in the state to qualify as a prime CETA site in 1974.

Oakland received $21.7 million in CETA funds in 1976, the mayor said, which sustained 949 jobs and created 610 new positions for special projects. Combined with the 3,100 employed under CETA's Title I programs and the 200 employed under Title VI, a total of 4,859 Oakland residents directly benefit from CETA funding. The city employs over 26 per cent of local CETA workers.

Untouched by CETA, Wilson complained, are over 20,000 unemployed, not counting an additional 10-15,000 jobless youth.

Wilson, like other speakers who followed him, was also highly critical of the short time his administration was given to design comprehensive CETA programs, often two weeks or less, he said. An aide added that it was difficult to meet the $10,000 ceiling on CETA public service jobs, saying that generally only clerical positions met this guideline.

## MANY SIMILARITIES

Expressing many similarities to Wilson's comments, a statement from the Black Panther Party to the Subcommittee said (in part):

"Since its inception in 1966, it has been the position of the Black Panther Party that full and meaningful employment is the *right* of all citizens. It is also our contention that the responsibility to insure that this right is afforded everyone rests with the U.S. government on the federal, state and local levels.

"We feel that the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) can be a step in the right direction. However, its significance will be weighed in light of what its' basic and underlying concept becomes. If CETA is just to be another 'war on poverty' effort, a bandaid approach, it will not succeed, but fail miserably.

"CETA must become an acknowledgement and a definitive step (through its federal guidelines) to act on the U.S. government's responsibility to guarantee full employment for all its citizens. It should not add to the barrage of problems and disenchantment that affect this country's poor and unemployed.

"The current focus of CETA is geared to failure. The emphasis must be shifted to affect more of the unemployed and unskilled community, as well as the current sub-groups of 'disadvantaged' people it purports to serve. CETA provides generally for one-year employment of people. The responsibilities and ways for guaranteeing permanent employment or placement are neither clear nor definite in their assignment. If this trend continues, CETA will be funding despair. CETA employment will become 'deadend' employment, if transition into full employment is not provided.



BPINS photo

*The CETA job program falls short as a means of providing jobs for the unemployed.*

"Government and private industry must address themselves to the underlying problem (as several speakers pointed out), which is not enough jobs. This means a shift on the focus of our total economy. The technology and resources of the United States are great enough to effect an emphasis and policies for a labor-intensive economy....Only then can there be a major effect on the massive unemployment in this country."

One of the most critical witnesses at the hearing was Tom Hayden of the Campaign for Democratic Democracy, who lashed out at both the CETA program and the compromise full employment bill.

"We've spent $2.5 billion to employ 300,000 people for wages less than half of what the Department of Labor says a person needs to get by in this society," Hayden said. "There is something chronically insane about this approach.

The former radical leader said that Congressional statistics show that only 22 per cent of CETA employees are Black and 35 per cent are women. Less than 20 per cent are between 18 and 21 and 5 per cent have less than an eighth-grade education.

"In other words, the program doesn't help minorities, women, youth or the undereducated," he said.

Turning his attention to the full employment bill, Hayden commended Hawkins on his tireless efforts, but said:

"One of the cruelest hoaxes is about to be perpetuated on the unemployed. They are being told there is a jobs bill and there isn't. There aren't any jobs in the bill."☐

# New York Cop Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

the White cop drew his revolver and fired, fatally wounding young Evans.

Now Torsney is claiming, for his defense, that he was suffering from a temporary psychosis (mental sickness) caused by a rare form of epilepsy, reports the *New York Times*.

When asked by his lawyer if he felt he was wrong for shooting Evans to death, Torsney calmly replied, "No, I have to doubt my own sanity to believe that — that he didn't have a gun."

Torsney admitted he didn't even look at the wounded youth, but walked to his car, reloaded his gun and was driven to the 75th precinct, where he was assigned.

After his arrest, the White cop was bailed out on $20,000 bond by the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association — an act which angered Black officers on the New York City police force.

Members of Evans' family have been present throughout the trial. May Jones, a cousin of the slain youth, took notes as Torsney testified. "I just want to keep a record of what's happening," she said.

She commented that the youth's father, Raymond Evans, had stopped coming to the trial because he was afraid he would lose his temper.

Last November, after hearing of the murder of young Evans, Jeannie Warner commented, "It is difficult to believe he's gone.

"Why him?" she asked.☐

# Saigon Evacuation "National Disgrace"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

his request — about the abuses of intelligence he says were condoned by Thomas Polgar as station chief in Saigon. William E. Colby was then director of the CIA.

"I acknowledged that Polgar had at times blocked reports that might have put the South Vietnamese government in an unfavorable light," Snepp writes.

He subsequently learned, Snepp writes, that the agency's inquiry had been initiated "simply to give Colby 'ammunition' with which to fend off any Congressional probes in CIA activities in Vietnam."

Earlier, while still on duty with the agency, Snepp adds, he was "directed by his CIA superiors" to fill out an affidavit which in effect attributed the breakdown of the evacuation to "local enemy action." Snepp refused to sign it.



*American slugs Vietnamese man (lower left) as he attempts to board helicopter evacuating Saigon.*

Another important disclosure which Snepp's book directly acknowledges is that the CIA's Phoenix Program resulted in many murders: "The object of the Phoenix Program was to capture Communist cadres and bring them in alive so they could be interrogated and exploited for intelligence purposes," Snepp writes.

"But as had so often happened in the past, the American game plan was more than our Vietnamese allies could handle...the Phoenix strike teams opted for a scattered approach, picking up anyone who might be a suspect, and eventually when the jails were filled to overflowing they began simply taking the law, such as it was, into their own hands."☐

# A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." — Huey P. Newton



SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

## GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

### THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

### PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

### PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

### PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

## FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

### FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

### FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

## PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

## SHOE PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)
Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

### PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.



S.A.F.E. PROGRAM

## PEOPLE'S FREE LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

### FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

### FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

## SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

## PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

### PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

## FREE PEST CONTROL

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

## OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

### LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

## CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental facilities at the earliest ages.



S.A.F.E. PROGRAM

# NATIONAL GUARD JOBS PLAN UNVEILED

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

•While they're away, EDD will find them civilian jobs with Oakland employers using their new skills.

•After training, they will serve out their six-year hitch at home in Oakland, working at these jobs while being paid the usual wages to carry out the Guard obligations of drilling one weekend a month, attending a two-week summer encampment, and being on call for emergencies like fires, earthquakes and civil disturbances.

The outline of the Oakland experiment appeared in a San Francisco newspaper September 27, the day before a scheduled "town meeting" in Oakland. There a galaxy of high level administration officers, including General Schober, met 800 people at Castlemont High School for a forum on citizens' relationship to state government.

At the town meeting, suggestions for bringing the National Guard back to Oakland for any purpose — the last armory here closed in 1939 — were greeted with outright hostility by minority community leaders. Schober himself received a chorus of boos and catcalls when he appeared on the stage in uniform.

Elaine Brown, then chairperson of the Black Panther Party, was scathing in her criticism.

"It's a shameful statement on the government and private business that we can't provide jobs except through the military," she said.

The president of the influential Oakland Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR), Jerry Jackson, pointed out that past relationships between young people and the National Guard had been bad: at Watts in 1965, People's Park in Berkeley in 1969, Kent State in 1970.

"It's difficult to imagine our youth relating to any military operation," he said.

Concerning the rehabilitation of substandard housing in Oakland, Mayor Wilson announced that an agreement had been reached between the city and the Bank of America paving the way for Oakland's participation in the Marks-Foran Residential Rehabilitation Act of 1973.



Under this program cities may borrow money at tax-exempt interest rates and offer loans of up to $30,000 per unit to property owners who want to refurbish homes and apartment buildings.

Oakland will use two million dollars in federal Community Development Bloc grant funds to provide loans administered through Bank of America's City Improvement and Restoration Program.

Next year, the city is expected to begin selling tax-exempt Marks-Foran bonds to private investors and using that money for more rehabilitation loans. □





*At a press ocnference held last week (left to right) DONALD McCULLUM, General FRANK SHOBER, Governor JERRY BROWN and Oakland Mayor LIONEL WILSON discussed the highly-criticized plan to use National Guard to provide jobs for Black and poor young people in Oakland.*

BPINS photos

# *Is America's Unemployment Actually Double?*

(Washington, D.C.) - President Carter's recently announced aim of reducing unemployment to 4.0 per cent by 1983 may prove embarrassingly timid.

Before that date, the government may adopt a new way to measure unemployment that reflects a growing criticism by economists: that the current unemployment index drastically underreports the true number of the jobless.

President Carter has appointed Sar A. Levitan, a leading critic of the index, as head of the new National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics. The commission was created by Congress last year, in response to growing criticism from economists, to recommend changes in the way the government measures and reports employment and unemployment.

If Levitan's thinking becomes the basis for a new official unemployment index, that new measure will show that unemployment and the hardship it creates is much more severe than the current index reflects — especially in inner cities and rural poverty areas.

According to Levitan, our manner of measuring unemployment is obsolete. When it was developed in the late 1930's, he says, it was accurate to equate joblessness with hardship. But today, unemployment insurance and other public subsidies soften the hardship for some of the unemployed and, according to some economists, defer job hunting. Meanwhile, many people are forced to take jobs that still leave them below the poverty level.

Levitan and economist Robert Taggart, a Labor Department official, believe they have developed one. Their Employment and Earnings Inadequacy (EEI) index measures the inability of people "to attain an adequate standard of living through work."

EEI shows unemployment for some segments of the population to be particularly severe. Black EEI in 1974 was 23 per cent, and among Black women heading families it was 56 per cent.

Levitan and Taggart are not alone in computing alternative unemployment statistics. The AFL-CIO, for example, contends unemployment in September was really 9.8 per cent instead of the official 6.9 per cent. The National Urban League's own measure for the last three months of 1976 was 13.7 per cent for the whole economy (compared to the official 7.3) and 23.8 per cent for Blacks and a disturbing 58.3 per cent for Black teenagers.

Most alternative statistics build on the way the government now computes unemployment. Based on 47,000 monthly interviews, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) classifies people as employed if they work as little as one hour a week at a paying job, and as unemployed if they don't work but have searched for work in the past month. These two groups comprise the labor force, and the unemployment rate is the percentage of the labor force that is unemployed.

Critics claim this method undercounts the unemployed in two important ways: (1) people working part-time but wanting full-time work should be considered unemployed — or underemployed — instead of fully employed; (2) at least some of those not in the labor force who want to work should be counted — especially those not seeking jobs because they don't believe any are available. □